

Interest Mistaken,
OR THE
Holy Cheat;

PROVING
From the undeniable Practises and Positions
of the Presbyterians, that the Design of that
Party is to enslave both King and People
under the Masque of RELIGION.

By way of Observation upon a Treatise,
INTITULED,
The Interest of England in the Matter of
RELIGION, &c.

By ROGER L'ESTRANGE.

The Second Impression.

Aug. De Civ. Dei.

*Nulla modo his artibus placatur Divina Majestas, quibus
Humana Dignitas inquinatur.*

LONDON,
Printed for Henry Brome at the Gun in Ivy-lane. 1661.

OR THE
Holy Cheat;

PROVING

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of the Presbyterians, that the Design of that
Party is to enslave both King and People
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And By Civil De.

Printed by J. Sturges, at the Sign of the Anchor, in St. Dunstons Church-yard.

LONDON.

Printed for H. and B. Rowland, at the Sign of the Anchor, in St. Dunstons Church-yard. 1681.



To the Honourable
HOUSE of COMMONS
Assembled in
PARLIAMENT.

Most Honourable;

TO begg your Pardon, or Protection,
were to suppose a Fault, or Hazzard,
but in this Dedication finding neither, I
shall waive that Formality: humbly submit-
ting what I have to say; my Reasons, and
my Self, to your Authority, and Wisdom,
without more Prologue, or Apology.

There is a Faction which under the note
of Presbyterian, seems much concerned to
stickle against Bishops, & Church-rites,
on the behalf of tender Consciences.
Their Writings and Opinions, are with great

A 2

Freedom;

The Epistle Dedicatory.

Freedom, Craft, and Diligence, dispers'd
throughout the Nation; to the great Scandal
of the true Church, and the Encouragement
of those of the Revolt. But this is
yet the least part of the Mischief, or in effect
of their Design: Their Ayme being to
Tumultuate the People, and make a Partie
against the Civill Power. Indeed their
Pamphlets wear the Face of Church-disputes,
and Modells; but he that reads them
through, and marques them narrowly, shall
find the King's Authority the Question.

That the late War against the King
was Lawfull, is a Position common to
them all, and this they publicuely maintain,
as the main Basis of the Cause. By which
assertion, they cast the Bloud, and Guilt upon
His Majestie; make his Adhærents Traitors:
place the Supreme Authoritie in the
two Houses: subject the Law to an Ordinance:
the Government, to a Faction:
and animate the Schismaticques to serve
His Majestie in beeing as they did His Father.

The Epistle Dedicatory.

ther. This is the drift of their seditious Libells, and of their Projects too; if any judgement may be made upon their strict conformity of Argument, and Methode, to those that first embroy'd us.

How farr this matter may require your Care, becomes not me to meddle: I thought it might be worth your Honours Knowledge, and led by an Opinion of my Duty, this state of the Affair, (such as it is) I doe most humbly lay before you.

His Majesty had no sooner set Foot upon English ground, but swarms of Pestilent papers were in a Readiness to enter teyn him. Some of the sharpest of them, I delivered to severall Members of that Session, with the Stationers name for whom they were Printed, (Smith, at the Bible in Cornhill, Croftons Agent) but all too little to suppress them. One Passage is this that Follows; speaking of the limited Power of Kings —

The Epistle Dedicatory.

Douglas
his Cor-
nation.
Sermon,
Page 10.

This may serve to justify the proceedings of this Kingdom against the late King, who in a hostile way set himself to overthrow Religion, Parliaments, Lawes and Liberties.

Hand in hand with this Pamphlet, came forth Smectymnuus; Reviv'd, and recommended by Mr. Manton: and since that time, some Hundreds more of the same stamp, whose common business 'tis, by Affronting of the Law, and Flattering of the Rabble to cast all back into Confusion. Among the many other Actours of Religion, I find not any man playes his part better, then the Author of That Treatise which hath extorted This: who indeed, abuses the People in very good terms.

Some hasty Observations I have pass'd upon him, in favour of the easie, and deceivable Vulgar; which I railties I submit to

your

The Epistle Dedicatory.

your Honours Charity; but the main Equitie of the Cause, I hope, will stand the test of your severest Justice: for doubtlesse much is due to the late King's Honour, as well as to his Blood.

And somewhat (with submission to your Wisdoms) may be allow'd to his Partie: at least sufficient to protect them from Popular contempt, and the Infamous lash of every daring Libell.

I dare not trust my self further with my own thoughts, and yet I take them to be such as very well consist with the Duty of

Your Honours most Obedient
and Humble Servant,

Roger L'estrange,



TO THE
GOOD PEOPLE
OF
ENGLAND.

THe *Common good* is the **Common** pretence of all seditious Combinations: and it is no new thing for a *Crafty Faction* to impose upon a *simple Multitude*, empty *Appearances*, for *Truths* and *Reason*. But our Reformers scorn to stop at this dull, general method of Confusion. The Law of *God* must be subjected as well as that of the *Nation*; we must call *Treason*, *Loyalty*, and commit *Murther* as a point of *Conscience*.

No lesse than this is hinted in the
Presby-

To the People.

Presbyterians Justification of the *Scottish League and Quarrel*: nor have they any other aim, than by procuring an Allowance of *That War*, to make way to *Another*. To this end, they disperse their poysonous Infusions into all Quarters of the Kingdom, under those very Forms of *Piety*, and *Tenderneß*, by which they first betrayed us: and by those very means do they now prosecute afresh their first Intentions. That is, they labour to promote the Cause, by scandalous and rank *Invectives*, against the *Church*, and stirring up of *Tumults* to *Reform* it: by a loud Pharisaical ostentation of their own *Holyness*, & a sour churlish Censure of all *Others*: by sharp and sawcie *Aspersions* upon the *Royal Party*, and by Reflections yet more bitter and Audacious, upon his Sacred Majesty, and his *Murtherd Father*.

To see these Libells passe with Freedom,

To the People.

dom, and Impunitie, as if they were Authorized; and to observe what foul Mistakes are grounded upon these grosse Allowances, to the Kings Disadvantage, and all without Controll or Confutation. This, and no other Reason (so God blesse me) that is; of private Passion, or Animosity of temper) hath drawn this honest Folly from me. I reckon it my Duty to my Prince and Country, to my own Honour, and to the Oath I have taken, Where ever I find a publique Enemy to discover him: And being thus Commissioned, both by Authority and Conscience, I proceed.

The Benefit of this Treatise is directed to the People, and the Design of it is onely to lay open the Presbyterian Juggle, that in one Age they be not twice deluded by the same Imposture. My Arguments are Drawn from their own Practises, and Positions: from Presidents of Former times; (Cartwright and his Disciples)

To the People.

Disciples) from what hath passed with-
in our own *Experience*; from what
these very men have *done*, and from the
very *Logique* of their own *Writings*,
what they professe, they do intend to
doe.

As the *Delusion* is apparent, so is the
Justice of *Discoursing* it.

Can it be thought, that by the *Act*
of *Pardon*, his Majestie ever meant to
subject all the *Sober* and *Legal Interests*
of the *Nation*, to be worried by a *Faction*?
Who of the *Royal Party* charges
them? Or if they did, what has the
Law done to offend them? Or say the
Law be sharp against them, his Majesties
unparallell'd Mercy has by his *Royal*
Grace taken off the edge of it; hazzard-
ing himself to preserve these unthank-
full People, which are now practising
upon that *Authoritie*, that saved them.

And I beseech you what is the good-
ly Subject of the Controversie? The
Presbyterian

To the People.

Presbyterian Discipline forsooth; and *Ceremonies of Mystical and Humane Institution*.

Touching the *Former*; *St. Augustine* tells us, that *Aerius* turn'd *Heretique* upon the misse of a *Bishopprick*. (the first assessor of *Church-Parity*) I am affraid some of our Reverend Clergy are sick of his disease; for their design is not so much to convert *Bishops* into *Presbyters*, as to make every *Presbyter* a *Bishop*.

And then for *Ceremonies*; they teaze and chafe the *Common-people* into a pettish scruple, that would be well and quiet enough without them. They make their *Consciences* like *Skittish Jades*, that boggle at their own shadowes, and start into a *Precipice* to avoid a *Feather*.

They tell us too of *Number*, and press their importunities in the Name of many thousands of the good people of the Nation; so did the *Kings* insolent Judges, and with as much truth the one as the other.

Let

To the People.

Let it be further noted, that in this case, the *Factions* and *Schismatical Clergy* are but (with reverence) *Bands* to a *State-faction*. A *Tumult* for Religion, is within one step of *Rebellion*.

Nor do they only shape their loose *Opinions* to their lewd purposes, but by all secret *arts* and *practises*, they form their *Parties*. But here I am confin'd.—

All I design is only a fit *Caution* to all *Well-meaning Subjects*, not to believe their *Eares* against their *Reason*. If they can adde one *Syllable*, of *Weight*, to what they have already *Promised*, and *Broken*, I'll give my self up to the *Partic*.

This is not yet to cast a general *Blot* upon all persons of that *Judgement*, nor to excite any unquiet thoughts toward the rest: but only to present a *Modest*, and an *Usefull* warning to the people.

So far am I from a desire to move a

ny

To the People.

ny distemper, that I do positively affirm, should the King (which is impossible) pick out of all his Subjects those very persons, who upon twentie years experience, have proved through all extremities how much they love his Cause and Person, above their Lives and Fortunes: should, I say, these be pick'd out by his Majestie, and mark'd for Slaves to those that with an equal Zeal and Steadynesse have opposed him; Our Durie were the same yet.

Severitie, and Kindnesse may move us as Men, but not as Subjects: Obedience to Kings being a Divine Precept, and not subjected to those accidents which work upon our Passions.

Nor shall this sense of my own Cleareness betray me yet to a surprize; for I foresee a thousand mischiefs may befall me, and all which either private Malice, or open and bold Prejudice can cast upon me; I am provided for.

To the People.

for. To those of the *Presbyterian* persuasion that truly love the King, I bear a more then *Ordinarie* Respect, because it is a more then *Ordinarie* Virtue, and for the rest, I care not.

I am not now to learn the temper of the *Rigid Presbyterians*. They did me once the Honour to *Condemn* me, almost at *Mid-night*, by a *Pack'd Committee*, and without a *Hearing*; well-nigh four years they kept me in *Newgate* upon that Account. This was a pretty taste of their good Nature. I do not now *Complain*, but I *Confesse*, it would have pleas'd me as well if the *Bishop* that *Christens* still by the *Directory*, had chosen some other *Chancellour*, instead of my *Judge Advocate*: ——— But I desire only to make a sober use of these Mistakes; The King knowes nothing of them.

God *Preserve* his Majesty, *Convert* his Enemies, & *Comfort* his Friends. Farewell.

THE

THE
Enemies & Conquer his Friends. For well
God Proves his Majesty, Conquer his
enemies of them.

of these Mistakes; The King knows
But I desire only to make a lobster
instead of my Judge advocates: —

But, had chosen some other Chancellor,
Bishop that Christian still by the De-
would have pleased me as well as the

not now Conquer, but I Confess it
prey, and of their good Nature. I do
give up to that Account. This was a

night, four years they kept me in Prison.
wishes, and without a hearing; well-
almost at length, by a French Com-

me once the Honour to Command me,
The Right Physician. They said
I am not now to learn the temper

for the rest, I care not.
it is a more than Ordinary Virtue, and
a more than Ordinary Reason, to be able

reason that only love my King, I care
To those of the French, I care not.

The Holy Cheat

T H E

HOLY CHEAT:

PROVING,

From the undeniable Practices and Positions of the *Presbyterians*, that the design of that Party is to enslave both King and People, under the Masque of

RELIGION, &c.

IF the Authour of the *Interest of England, &c.* had meant fairly to the Question, he would as well have told us the Good of *Bishops*, and the Ill of *Presbyters*, as he hath done the contrary, and never have concluded For, or Against Either, from the Best Actions of the One, and the Worst of the Other. At least, a man would think this partiality of Method, might content him without the further service

of those little arts he uses, to aid, and recommend his Undertaking.

The Present state of things, he represents quite other then it is : and raises thence a Political expedience of doing This, or That, — of Linking Interests, — never considering, that he Himself Creates that Interest, and gives Affairs the Face of that expedience. Page the 16. he laies his ground-work, In these following words.

J. C.

Among the various dis-agreeing Parties within this Kingdom, which seem to render it an indigested Mass of People; two main ones appear above the rest, of so large an interest, that if by any means they might become no more main, but one, they would take in, and carry along the whole stream and strength of the Nation. And these two are the Episcopal and Presbyterian Parties, each of them highly laying claim to the Protestant Religion. And undoubtedly whilst these two remain divided, the Kingdom of England, and the Protestant Religion is divided against it self. This dis-union is removed, either by the Abolition of one Party, or by the Coalition of both into one. The former, if supposed possible, cannot be accomplished, but by violent & perillous ways and means. The latter is brought to pass by Accommodation, or mutual yielding. Moreover, there is a th'rd way imaginable; Toleration indulged to the weaker side. In which of these ways lies the true Interest of the King and Kingdom, is the great Case of the time, and the Subject of this Discourse,

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Discourse, which presumes not to inform his Majesty, but in subordination unto his declared Moderation and Condescension, endeavours, by shewing things as they are, to convince and persuade Interessed persons, that the Pacification begun for this Interium may be entire and perfect, and fully settled for perpetual unity.

Let it be here observed, First, what the Observati-
Difference is; Next, betwixt whom; In the on.
Third place, the Danger of it; And Lastly,
the Expedient to remove it.

It seems, the Episcopal, and Presbyterian
Parties, United in Religion, cannot Agree yet
about Discipline: and while These Two remain
Divided, the Publick is in Danger: From
hence results the Interest of Mutual Field-
ing. (his Coalition of both Parties into
One.) Upon which Hinge moves the whole
frame of his Design; and in two Pages, he
gives the Presbyterian possession of his Claim,
Deciding with exceeding ease, the Case of
King and Kingdom.

Opinion is a great Mistress: for that which
He so Magisterially Lays down and Chal-
lenges, appears to me mis-stated, and worse
Managed. I must confess, his Reduction of
all other Interests under Episcopal and Pres-
byterian, is, in some sense, no ill Dichotomy,
that is, intended of the two main Parties,
whereof, the One's against the Law, the Other
for it. But why the single Presbyterian should
be Esteemed the Ballance of the Nation, I
cannot Comprehend. If they are so, they

should do well to cast their Cause upon a Popular Vote, and try the Issue by the Poll.

For Quiet sake, no matter, *Many or Few*, there may be *Equity* where there wants *Number*. We'll rather see in point of Right what 'tis they insist upon: *Which, if exemption from Episcopal Authority, in things Indifferent, and of Humane Institution*. We must plead *judgments of Discretion* too, as well as *They*: A *Freedom*, and Capacity to distinguish betwixt a *Scandal Given* and *Taken*; betwixt a *Dis-conformity* proceeding from *Conscience*, and from *Passion*; Where the *Dissent* proceeds from *Conscience*, a *Toleration* clears *That Scruple*; but our good people's *Liberty* consists in *Furthering Others*, as well as *Freeing Themselves*, and that's *Intolerable*.

How many strange *Indecencies* are here, one upon the neck of another! First, here's the *Minor* part imposing upon the *Major*: Secondly, a *Novel*, and *Vulgar Imagination*, bearing down an *Apostolical Institution*: Thirdly, a *Private Opinion*, contesting with a *Soliman*, and *Publick Sanction*: and Finally, the Subject of all this Earnestness, in their own phrase, is but a very *Accommodable difference*. From what I have said, I am perswaded that *Severity* to the *Perfidious Presbyter*, is the true interest of this Nation, allowing yet *Indulgence* to the *Conscientious*.

Well, but our Author tells us, that *Abolition* if possible, is *perillous*, and *Toleration* only an *Imaginary Remedy*. Is not this to intimate that the Party makes less *Conscience* of a *Blasphemy* Tumult,

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Tumult, than of a Ceremony : and to argue the necessity of Complying, from the danger of Refusing ? What would these people do if they had Power, that are so Bold without it ! And yet our Politician makes it the Kings Interest to Close with them. He means perchance, *According to the Covenant* : The *Coalition*, There, of all Schisms, and Heresies into One Interest, was of great Reason, and Important Service to the Commune work : but we are now advising how to *Settle* not to *Disjoyn* a Government, and to Incorporate Dis-agreements, were to begin upon a Principle of Confusion. As the Case stands with us, in my weak Judgement, *Persons* should rather be Indulg'd, than *Parties*. My Reason is this, Some *Individuals* of that Perswasion, have done His Majesty some Service, but (to the best of my Remembrance) the *Entire Party*, never any.

Yet one Reflexion more. Allow these People all their Askings, in what concerns their *Discipline*, will they rest Quiet There, without a further Hanking after more ? (the *Legislative Power* perhaps; the *Militia*; ——— or some such Trifle) I am the more suspicious, because I do not well remember, where ever That Party was satisfied with less than All. Nor need I look far back for Instances to justify my Fears ; But having in some measure hitherto Discovered his Foundation, we'l forward now, and see what work he makes upon this Sandy Bottom, taking his Title-page in my way, for, to my thinking, he

stumbles at the Threshold. ——— It runs thus.

The Interest of England

In the Matter of

RELIGION

unfolded in the Solution of these three

QUESTIONS.

I. Qu. *Whether the Presbyterian Party should in Justice or Reason of State be Rejected and Depressed, or Protected and Encouraged.*

II, Qu. *Whether the Presbyterian Party may be Protected and Encouraged, and the Episcopal not Deserted nor Disobliged.*

III, Qu. *Whether the Upholding of both Parties by a just and equal Accommodation, be not in it self more desirable and more agreeable to the State of England, Than the absolute Exalting of the one Party, and the total Subversion of the other.*

Written by J. C.

Observation. I would fain know what is meant by, The Matter of Religion, as it stands here related to Civil

The Holy Cheat.

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Civil Interest? Doctrine it cannot be, for That were to advise a yielding upon a Principle of Policy, in Opposition to a Rule of Conscience: *subjecting Interest of Religion*, which is *Eternal Happiness*, to *Reason of State*, which regards but *Temporal Convenience*. If it be *Discipline*, What's that to the *Interest of England*? Our Settlement depends upon a due Obedience to the Establish'd Law; not the Encouraging of froward Humors, by an Audacious and Mis-govern'd Zeal, under pretext of *Conscience* to Affront it. Let Authority Reform, and Private Persons either Obey, or Suffer; we are to Answer for our *own* faults, not those of the *Government*. And in fine, *If the Hill will not come to Mahomet, let Mahomet go to the Hill.*

After a pleasant *Breviate* of the Story of our late Troubles, handsomely Penn'd indeed) in his tenth Page he takes his Bias.

At length (says he) a full Tide of Concurring Accidents carries him (the Duke of Albemarle, then General.) to a closure with the sober part of the Parliamentary Party, who from first to last intended onely a Reformation, and due Regulation of things in Church and State, but abhorred the thought of destroying the King, or changing the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom.

Page 10.

I thought the *Act of Pardon and Oblivion* had quieted all Animosities, and silenc'd all Discourses of this Quality; but 'tis, it seems,

Observation.

The Interest of England in the matter of Religion, to keep the Quarrel waking; and by Asserting the proceedings of the two Houses in the late War, to engage this King within the danger of his Fathers President. To be as free with the Author, as he is with his Majesty, He put his meaning in a little plain-er English.

Beside the Grand Division of the Nation into a *Royal* and a *Popular* Party; that Party which he here calls *Parliamentary*, is again *Split*; and under this Subdivision are Comprised, those which did Actually destroy the King; and those which by good Fortune, did it not. (*Presbyterians, and Independents.*) The *Sober part*; (meaning the *Presbyterians*) He justifies from first to last, even to their very *Inventions*. (I must tread warily, for I am here upon a narrow and a slippery path.)

Not to Dispute the *Gentlemen* *Intuitive Knowledge*; we'l rather modestly believe that They mistook their way, when He, their meaning: for certainly, the *Assaucher* of the King, was not the onely Unlawful violence Aged upon that Sacred Person, and he that stops there, does as much as nothing. I would not touch upon this Subject, were I not bound by Oath, and Duty, to discharge my Soul, in what concerns the Honor, and the Safety of my Prince.

Can the first Cause, asserted by both Houses, in opposition to his late Majesty, be justifi'd, and not the King condemn'd? And is not the Honor and Safety of his Majesty that now
is,

is, concern'd in these Indignities upon his Murther'd Father? What was Then lawful, is so still: and he that but implicitly charges the Last King, strikes at This. The Text will bear no other sense without a Torture. But I shall by-and-by, compare him with himself. In the mean while we may explain one Presbyterian by another. *Douglas*, in 1651. preach'd the Kings Coronation-Sermon. Which since his Majesties Return, is over and over again Re-printed.

A King (says he) abusing his Power, to the overthrow of Religion, Laws, and Liberties, which are the very fundamentals of this Contract and Covenant, may be controlled and opposed; and if he set himself to overthrow all these by Arms, then they who have power, as the Estates of a Land, may and ought to resist by Arms; Because he doth, by that opposition, break the very Bonds, and overthroweth all the Essentials of this Contract and Covenant. This may serve to Justifie the proceedings of this Kingdom against the late King, who in an hostile way set himself to overthrow Religion, Parliaments, Laws and Liberties.

I think this needs no Comment, — About the same time, *Smectymnus* was revived by Mr. *Manton*, (a most auspicious welcome doublet to his Majesty) wherein five Champions of the Cause take up the Cudgels against one Bishop, on the behalf of scandalous Pamphlets, and Tumultuary Petitions against Episcopacy. This is the naked Truth, what ever

over the Jolly Priest may tell the Reader, of
 * Epistle to the * Faction against which they deals. Five
 the Reader. Orthodox Divines, he says, were the Authors.
 Four of the Five I shall not mention, the
 Fifth was Marshall, of whose Divinity, a
 Taste; that by the sweet Agreement, we may
 the better judge of Mr. Manton's. In a Letter
 printed 1643. arguing for the Authority of the
 two Houses, page 14. Thus.

Marshall. Let every soul in England be subject to King
 and Parliament, for they are the higher
 Powers ordained unto you of God; whosoever
 therefore resisteth King and Parliament, re-
 sisteth the Ordinance of God; and they that re-
 sist shall receive to themselves damnation.

The man was no Conjuror, yet he had wit
 enough, when Presbytery went down, to
 Court the rising Interest; and though the Com-
 mon-prayer was an Abomination, to marry his
 Daughter by it, for fear of After-claps. But I
 suppose 'twas huddl'd up, as 'tis in Mr. Man-
 ton's Church, that no man might be able to
 make Oath 'twas not the Directory. If the
 Case had been concerning * the Allowance of
 Christian Burial to a Gentleman that was
 Quartered for his Loyalty. Or to determine in
 the great Point of the late Kings Death, (upon
 an Anniversary Fast) whether or no 'twas
 Murther: Truly considering the potent Ar-
 guments brought on both sides, 'tis possible that
 Mr. Marshall would have contented himself
 (as well as his Neighbours) barely to put the
 Case, and leave the point at last undecided to
 his Auditory.

The Holy Cheat.

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Not to spend time, and paper needlessly,
The whole stream of the *Disciplinarians* runs
this way: onely perhaps more or less Bold, and
Open, according to the present strength, or
weakness of the Faction.

But to return: Can any thing be more gen-
tle, then *Reformation*, and *Due Regulation*
of things in Church and State? (*words*
smoother than Oyle, yet are they very Swords.)

First, To *Reform*, and *Regulate*, belongs to
the Supreme Magistrate; if they intended
That, they were to blame. Now to take it in a
Qualifi'd and softer sense; 'twas a *Due Regu-*
lation they intended. To put this General
notion in more Intelligible terms; upon this
point depends no less then all that's dear to
every honest man. The *Dignity of the King*,
the *Liberty of the Subject*, the *Freedome of*
Parliaments, and the *Honor of the Nation*. God
knows my thoughts, I do not envy any man,
either the Benefit of his Majesty's *Mercy*,
or the Blessing of his *Favour*, that hath the
Grace at last not to Abuse it. I look upon his
Royal Act of Pardon with Reverence; and
upon every Soul within that pale as in a San-
ctuary. But yet I do not understand a *Pardon*
for one Rebellion, to be a *Dispensation* for
another; nor how the Argument lies from
Fact to Right. Under these two words, *Due*
Regulation, Thus much is comprehended,
(waiving less Differences and Greater.)

Presby-
terian Re-
gulation.

1. The transferring of the Power of choosing Great Officers, and Ministers of State, from the King to the Two Houses.

2. All matters of State in the Interval of Parliaments must be Debated, and Concluded by a Counsel so chosen, and in number not above twenty five, nor under fifteen, and no Publick Act esteemed of any Validity, as proceeding from the Royal Authority, unless it be done by the Advice and Consent of the Major part of that Counsel, Attested under their Hands. And These too sworn to the sense of Both Houses.

3. The Lords and Commons must be intrusted with the Militia.

4. His Majesty may appoint, but the Two Houses, or the Counsel (in such manner as aforesaid) must Approve of All Governors of Forts, and Castles.

Lastly, No Peers hereafter made, must Sit, or Vote in Parliament, unless Admitted therunto by the Consent of Both Houses.

Upon these Terms; his Majesty shall be supported, in Honor, and plenty; by his most Humble and Faithful Subjects, who have in their Thoughts and Desires nothing more precious, (next to the Honor and immediate Service of God.)

Exam
Collection,
pag.
310.

God) than their just, and faithful performance of their Duty to the King, and Kingdom.

This is the ~~True~~ *Regulation* they Intended: (for sure they Meant what they Proposed; to our Late Sovereign. I speak not this, of Persons, but of the Gross of the Party; nor to reproach That neither, but to remove a Scandal from the Ashes of that Blessed Martyr; and to direct a Reverence towards his Successor. What provocation have these restless People, now to revive This Question: but an untuly Impotency of Passion against the Government? This is their way. In *Generals*, they justify from first to last, the Presbyterians Cause. The multitude, they look into *Particulars*: and from those Injuries which the late King suffered, draw Inferences Dis-honourable, and Dangerous to this.

In the next Periode, he thinks he falls upon a *Non-sequitur*.

The Re-admission of the Secluded Members, Page 10. (he says) did necessarily draw after it, the Restoring of King, Lords, and Commons, according to the antient Constitution.

Not Necessarity (under favour) according to the antient Constitution: (I will not say not probably: but) there were two shrewd Blocks cast in the way. The First, in the *Militia*; where no Commissioned Officer was to Act, that should not first acknowledge in these words, *viz.*

Observation.

I do Acknowledge and Declare, that the estate undertaken by both Houses of Parliament in their defence against the forces raised in the Name of the late King, was Just and Lawful; and that Tyranny and Ministry, are the Ordinances of God.

The Second, was in the Exclusion of the Royal Party from the next Choice, as follows.

Resolved, that all and every Person who have advised, or voluntarily aided, abetted, or assisted, in any War against the Parliament (since the first day of January 1641. This or their sons, unless he or they have since Manifested their good affections to this Parliament, shall be incapable to be elected to serve as members of the next Parliament.

Now how a Choice thus limited in the House, and Principled in the Field, should Necessarily set us right, does not to me appear?

Perhaps it was the most the Time would bear: but God forbid, That Declaration charging the Guilt, and Blood of the late War upon the King, should stand upon Record to future Generations. Who ever affirms That War was lawful, does beyond Question meditate Another; not to say more than needs, It blasts the Memory of the late King, and upon the King that now is, it reflects many Mischiefs, subjecting both his Dignity and Person, to his Fathers hazards. It administers Argument for a New War; and shakes the very Foundation of Royalty. Grant That, the Act of Oblivion is on the wrong side; If the King

King was in Fault, the Presbyterians must Grant the Pardon. From the clear reason of the matter in it self, and from the obvious Consequences, beside that Justice which both King and People owe to the Ashes of a Father and a Sovereign, It seems to me of high Concern, to Counter-Stat that Declaration, and place the Militia of this Nation not in such hands, as will acknowledge the late Kings Quarrel was Defensive. I am the bolder in this Particular, because I find the Faction pressing beyond both Modesty and Reason, upon this Bottom.

Where Majesty it self is Affronted, it were a second Injury to allow the Servant better Quarter than the Master. But they are very Exact and Careful in this Particular: as will appear in what follows.

Page 12.

After a dreadful Earthquake, shaking all the Powers of the Kingdom, and over-turning the very Foundations, and after a new frame of things erected standing for divers years, and seemingly stated for perpetuity, the Regal Family and Government is raised up again, not by the power or policy of that Party, who fought under the Banner of his late Majesty in the Wars, between him and both Houses of Parliament. But by the restless desire of the Nation, and the vigorous actings of the City of London, with the concurrence of the Secluded Members of the long Parliament, in conjunction with that Renowned Person, who then held the power of the Sword.

Let

Observation.

Let it be noted here, that (by His Confession) the War was between the King and *Both Houses of Parliament*. Now to that Party who fought under the Banner of His late Majesty. (Whom he might have spared for the General's sake.)

Truly, considering what havock hath been made of them, by Slaughters, Extrajudicial Sentences, Manners, Sequestrations, Imprisonments, Banishments; stripping them away into *Plaurations*, &c. — And this for twenty years continuance. 'Tis no great wonder to find some Abatement of their Power. But to Affirm that they contributed nothing to his Majesties Restauration, is very unkind, and something Rash. The Nation did, (he says) the City of London, and the *Secluded Members* of the Long Parliament; but not That Party. (A pleasant and phantastical Dis-junction.) This way of barely Affirming, and Denying; Crying One Party Up, and the Other Down, and proving nothing, is neither Mannerly, nor Prudent. How comes this man of *Asaphysical Inspection*, that reads the very Thoughts of the Presbyterians, and seems so well informed in all the *Adings* of the Royal Party: How comes he by this wondrous Insight and Intelligence? Does he not find that all he says is nothing, unless he can see things Invisible; and prove Negatives? Is This the Work of the Spirit of Pacification? or will he tell us, in the holy Dialect, that *in the Embrace between the Seed of the Woman, and the Seed of the Serpent?* So far were We, (for I write my self of that Party)

Party) from this Unfriendly and Unchristian Temper of Dis-uniting, that we Declared unanimously against it, binding our selves by all that's Sacred, to an Eternal Union with all Parties, in order to the Restauration of His Majesty, all Differences apart; of what Degree or Quality soever. In This, we had an eye to the King's Interest, and to the Nation's; for it Referred both to his Majesty's Return, and to a Lasting Peace; the Former being Facilitated by that Conjunction of *Interests*; and the Latter, provided for by a Conciliation of *Affections*, to be wrought by suppressing all *Motions* toward Revenge in the one Party, and the *Fears* of it in the *Other*. It had been good Manners to have met us half way; but truly high Discretion, as well as Common Equity, to Close with us, and entertain the Offer. But far from this, we do not onely get not one Good word, but many a Bad one: *Such, as those People that will never Leave the King, are to expect from such as do not love Him*. Our Adversary talks much of the Gospel. Is it a Gospel-precept, to render Evil for Good? What I have shewed already, that the Kings Party did, amounts to somewhat more than nothing. We'l see a little further, allowing yet to all that Acted in that work their share of Glory.

The Duke of Albemarle was the Leading Card, then in the head of an Army, better dispos'd to his Command, than Design: and to him the Honest part of the City and Nation were no ill Seconds. But till he had tasted and

tri'd them, he did well to walk warily: and rather take the middle and safer way, of Gratifying all Interests then on foot, than the more Positive, and Hazardous, of Disobliging any Two Parties, in favour of the Third.

For there were then Three several Interests in Play: the *King's*, the *Presbyterian's*, and the *Phanatique's*: The Royal party press'd for a Free Choice and Convention, without *Prelimination*. The *Presbyterians* urg'd a Re-admission of the *Secluded Members*. The *Phanatiques*, they were for filling up the House, according to such *Qualifications* as the *Rump* should resolve upon. The course the General steer'd was this; ——— the *Rump* Continued; the *Secluded Members* Returned; and the *Royallists* were satisfied with the Assurance of a new Choice soon after. His Excellence acting in this Affair rather as a Conciliator, than a Party, and in order to a Settlement, giving things the best Consistency they would then bear.

But had the ancient Stock of Royallists no hand at all in this procurement? It never came to blows, so that the matter Rests upon the Effects of Policy and Counsel; whereof our undertaker cannot give any absolute account; nor shall we in our just Apology, exalt our selves, and cry, *We brought the King in*. That's *Presbyterian Language*. We did not drive him out, we'll say; and that we joyn'd with many Thousands, as honest as our selves, in Duty to Restore him. Whether there was place for Action, and to do the King a Service that

that way, we never Articled for Offices or Rewards, but without further care of Intérest, persú'd our Duties. In fine the Loyal part of the Nation was animated by the same Soul, joyn'd Stocks, and Counsels: and many Thousands of brave Fellows that never saw the King, were forward and Ambitious to Die for him. I could say what was undertaken by the old Royal Party, particularly, in *Hewson's* scuffle, (and indeed where not) but that it casts a Slur upon some of his Majesty's new Friends. This however, those Lads of the City, that would have done the work without more ado, had they not been Muzzl'd by some of their Mungrel Magistrates, that Din'd with the *Mayor*, and Supp'd with the *Committee of Safety*: those honest people will, if need be, bear witness for us, and in like manner the whole Nation, that by Action, Counsel, Writing, we did all that was possible in the Business. Neither does what I have delivered in defence of the Royal Party, disagree with his Majesty's testimony of the Other, in His Gracious Speech to the House of Peers, for halstning the *Act of Indempnity*: which yet our Author cites against us.

My Lords, If you do not joyn with Me in extinguishing those fears, which keep mens hearts awake, and apprehensive of safety and security, you keep Me from performng My promise, which if I had not made, I am perswaded that neither I nor you had been now here: I pray you let Us not deceive those who brought Us,

His Majesty's Speech for halstning the Act of Indempnity.

or permitted Us to come together.

Observation.

The King does not There say so much who Brought Him in, as who Permitted His Restoring; implying, that He was fain to Condition for that too; but withal, a great Earnestness to perform His promise.

Had but this Gentleman considered as well what the King said at the Passing of the Indemnity, as at the Hustning of it, this wrangle would have been saved; I'll do him the service to remind him of it.

His Majesty's Speech at the passing the Act of Indemnity.

I do very willingly pardon all that is pardoned by this Act of Indemnity, to that time which is mentioned in the Bill. Nay, I will tell you, That from that time to this day, I will not use great severity, except in such Cases where the Malice is Notorious, and the Publick Peace exceedingly concern'd. But for the time to come, the same Discretion and Conscience which disposed me to the Clemency I have express'd, which is most agreeable to My Nature, will oblige me to all Rigour and Severity, how contrary soever it be to My Nature, towards those who shall not now Acquiesce, but continue to manifest their Scatious and Dislike of the Government, either in Actions or Words. And I must conjure you all (My Lords and Gentlemen)

to censure with me in this just and necessary Severity; and that you will in your several Stations, be so jealous of the publick Peace, and of My particular Honor, that you will cause Exemplary Justice to be done upon those who are guilty of Seditious Speeches or Writings, as well as those who break out into Seditious Actions: And that you will believe those who delight in reproaching and traducing My Person, not to be well affected to you and the publick Peace. Never King valued himself more upon the Affections of his People, than I do; Nor do I know a better way to make My Self sure of your Affections, than by being Just and Kind to you all; and whilst I am so, I pray let the World see, that I am possessed of your Affections.

Thus far the Ground-work, now the goodly Structure.

His Majesty thus brought back to a Page 14. willing and free-spirited people, by their own Act; beholds his undoubted Interest set forth to his hand, and made plain before him; which is no other, than a well-temper'd and compos'd State of Affairs, both Religious and Civil, in all his Dominions, by the abolishing of former Differences, and the reconciling of all reconcileable

cleable Parties; and especially of those grand Parties, which (if made one) do upon the matter carry the whole Nation. And this His Majesties Wisdom hath already observed, in that excellent Proclamation against vicious, debauched, and prophane persons, in these words, [That the Reconciliation and Union of hearts and affections, can onely, with God's blessing, make Us rejoyce in each other, and keep Our Enemies from rejoycing.] And this is the earnest expectation and hope of the Religious, and well affected to the publick Tranquillity, that the King, our supreme Head and Governor, whose gracious Disposition doth not suffer him to cleave to any divided part of his Subjects; and to reject others that are unlike Loyal, well, as a common Father, protect and cherish all those that are found capable and worthy, and become our great Moderator by his Authority and Wisdom, to lessen Differences, and allay Animosities between dissenting Brethren, which already agree in the main points of Religion.

Observation.

Having hitherto asserted, that those who fought under the late King's Banner, were not his Majesty's Friends; and that those who fought against it, ever were; he proceeds now to a Conclusion suitable to his premises, and states the Interest of the King in favour of that Voluntary Mistake: directing an Accord betwixt all Reconcilable Parties, and an indulgence toward all those that are found Capable, and

and *Worthy*. In *Both* (and in *All*) Cases, the Presbyterian himself must be the Judge: and then we know what will become of *Royalists* and *Bishops*.

The Kings Friends have ever had the Honor to be Divided (by these People) into persons *Popishly affected*, *Evil Counsellors*, and *Loose Livers*; and it is evident, that they design, under these Limitations of *Reconcilable*, *Capable*, and *Worthy*, to cast all such as Conscientiously, and frankly adhere to *Monarchy*, and *Episcopacy*, out of the terms of their pretended Pacification. All those that *They* find *Capable* and *Worthy*, and esteem *Reconcilable*, shall be admitted. Now to the Question.

I. Quest. *Whether in Justice or Reason of State the Presbyterian party should be Rejected and Depressed, or Protected and Encouraged?*

It would be first agreed what's meant by the *Observation*. Presbyterian Party: We'l weigh the *Justice* on, and *Reason* of the Proposition after. His own Remarque upon it is not amiss.

As concerning their true Character, the Page 19.
Notation of the name whereby they are called, is both too shallow, and too narrow for it. The word Presbyterian hath not sufficient depth to go to the root of the Matter, nor breadth sufficient to comprehend this sort of men. That Form of Ecclesiastical Government by Parochial

chial and Classical Presbyteries, Provincial and National Assemblies, is remote enough from their main Cause, and those firm Bonds that make them eternally one, in respect whereof many that approve a regulated Episcopacy, will be found of their number.

Observati-
on.

'Tis truly and well said. Their Cause is not the *Form*, but the *Exercise* of Government: for they like well enough to have that Power Themselves, which they condemn in Others. Nor do I doubt but that many of them approve a regulated Episcopacy; that is, a *Presbyter* in a *Bishop's* seat, where the Office appears Regulated by the Person, as 'tis in a Regulated Monarchy; Where the King's subject to the Law, and the Law to the two Houses. But I condemn not All, that wear that Character. The Wise, and Honest Few of that Denomination, who keep themselves within the terms of Duty, and the Question; such as can talk of the Church, without disturbing the State; and debate their private Opinions, without giving publick Scandal: For these, I have much Charity, and Reverence, and wish as great a tenderness toward them, as they themselves desire. But where I see a Bold seditious Faction, bidding defiance to the Civil Magistrate under the Churches Colours: I find not any thing so Sacred in the Name of Presbyterian, as to protect a Turbulent Party assuming that Appellation. It will be urg'd, that they do as little Justifie the *Seditious*, as I condemn the
Sober

Sober Presbyterian. But to agree that point, I'll prove, that the same Party, for whom they plead, and against whom I engage, are no less Enemies to the King, and People, than to Bishops: and, which is more, from their own practises and positions, I'll make it good. Yet one would hardly guess this from their following Character.

As concerning their main and rooted principles, they admire and magnifie the holy Scriptures, and take them for the absolute perfect rule of Faith and Life, without the supplement of Ecclesiastical Tradition; yet they deny not due respect and reverence to venerable Antiquity. They assert the study and knowledge of the Scriptures, to be the duty and priviledge of all Christians, that according to their several capacities, being skilful in the Word of Righteousness, they may discern between good and evil, and being filled with all goodness, may be able to exhort and admonish one another: Yet they acknowledge the necessity of a standing Gospel-Ministry, and receive the directive authority of the Church, not with implicate Faith, but the Judgment of discretion: They hold the reaching of the Spirit necessary, to the saving knowledge of Christ: Yet they do not hold that the Spirit bringeth new Revelations, but that he opens the eyes of the understanding to discern what is of old revealed in the written Word: They exalt divine Ordinances, but debase humane Inventions in Gods Worship; particularly

Page 20.

cularly Ceremonies properly Religious, and of Instituted Mystical signification: Yet they allow the natural expressions of Reverence and Devotion, as kneeling; and lifting up of the hands and eyes in prayer; as also of those meer Circumstances of decency and order, the omission whereof would make the service of God either undecent, or less decent. As they worship God in the spirit, according to the simplicity of Gospel Institutions; so they rejoice in Christ Jesus, having no confidence in a legal Righteousness, but desire to be found in him, who is made unto us Righteousness by gracious Imputation: Yet withal they affirm constantly, that good works of piety towards God, and of justice and charity towards men, are necessary to salvation. Their Doctrine bears full conformity with that of the Reformed Churches, held forth in their publick Confessions, and particularly with that of the Church of England, in the nine and thirty Articles, onely one or two passages peradventure excepted, so far as they may import the asserting of Prelacy, and human Mystical Ceremonies. They insist much on the necessity of Regeneration, and therein lay the ground-work for the practise of godliness. They press upon themselves and others the severe exercise, not of a Popish, outside, formal, but a Spiritual and real mortification, and self-denial, according to the power of Christianity. They are strict observers of the Lords Day, and constant in Family prayer. They abstain from oaths, yea, petty oaths, and the irreverent usage

usage of Gods Name in common discourse; and, in a word, they are sober, just, and circumspect in their whole behaviour. Such is the temper and constitution of this party, which in its full latitude lies in the middle between those that affect a Ceremonial Worship, and the height of Hierarchical Government on the one hand, and those that reject an ordained Ministry, and settled Church-order, and regular Unity on the other hand.

Here is much said, and little proved; onely *Observations* a Pharisaical Story, of what they are not, and what they are; that they are not as other men are, and their bare word for all. The Tale is well enough told to catch the silly vulgar, that look no further then Appearances; But to a serious person, how gross, and palpable is the Imposture! In the main points of Doctrine they fully agree with the nine and thirty Articles: and 'tis but peradventure, that they differ, in one or two passages, so far as they may import the asserting of Prelacy, and humane Mystical Ceremonies.

Behold the mighty Subject of an Holy War; the goodly Idol, to which we have sacrific'd so much Christian blood. Can any man imagine this the true and conscientious reason of the Quarrel? Or that the middle way our Presbyter steers, betwixt *Phanaticism* and *Papery*, is the just measure of the Case: But hear him on, and he'll tell ye, the Party is *Numerous* as well as *Godly*.

Within

Page 23.

Within these extensive limits the Presbyterian Party contains several thousands of learned, godly, orthodox Ministers, being diligent and profitable Preachers of the Word, and exemplary in their Conversation; among whom there are not a few that excel in Political and Practical Divinity; also of the judicious, sober, serious part of the people; (in whose affections his Majesty is most concern'd) they are not the lesser number. By means of a practical Ministry, this way, like the Leaven in the Gospel-parable, hath spread and season'd the more considerate and teachable sort in all parts of the Kingdom, and especially in the more civiliz'd places, as Cities and Towns.

Observations.

It had been well our Undertaker had put his Orthodox, and Learned Thousands upon the List: for that Party is a little given to false Musters.

How many forg'd Petitions and Remonstrances; what Out-cries from the Press and Pulpit, in the name of the People, when yet the fourth part of them were never privy to their own Askings! Of ninety and seven Ministers within the walls of London, four score and five were driven from their Churches, and Houses, at the beginning of our Troubles. And notwithstanding the monstrous Clamours, which occasion'd the Conference at Hampton-Court in 1603.

* English and Scotch Presbytery, pag. 316.

* Hist. of the Ch. of Scotl. p. 479.

Arch-bishop Spotswood tells us, that [of above nine thousand Ministers, but forty nine appeared upon the Roll, that stood out, and were deposed for disconformity. Such a noise will

will a few Disturbers cause in any Society, where they are tolerated.]

Touching his *Practical Ministry*; I grant, *The Pres-
byterians
practical
Ministry.*
the Cause is much beholden to the *Pulpit*, and that, without the aid of Seditious Lectures, I do believe the Strife had never come to Blood: But yet these Preachments did not the whole Business. Do not we know what Craft and Violence hath been used to Cheat and Force the People; what *Protestations*, *Covenants*, and *Negative Oaths* have been imposed, upon pain of *Imprisonment*, *Banishment*, *Sequestration*? Have not all Schools, and Nurseries of Piety and Learning, been subjected to the Presbyterian mode, and many thousands of Godly, and Reverend Divines, reduced to beg their Bread, because they would not *Covenant*: yet all too little to procure either a General Kindness, or submission to their Principles?

For the Reasons afore-going, the infringement of due Liberties in these matters, would perpetuate most unhappy Controversies in the Church from Age to Age. Let the former times come in, and give good Evidence. As touching Ceremonies; the Contest began early, even in King Edward's Reign, between Hooper and other Bishops. The Consecration of Hooper, Elect Bishop of Gloucester being stayed, because he refused to wear certain Garments used by Popish Bishops, he obtained Letters from the King and from the Earl of Warwick, to the Arch-bishop of Canterbury and others, that he might not be burthened with certain Rites and Ceremonies

Pag. 25.

Ceremonies, and an Oath commonly used in the Consecration of Bishops, which were offensive to his Conscience. Nevertheless he found but harsh dealing from his fellow-Bishops, whereof some were afterwards his fellow-Martyrs, and Ridley among others, who afterwards thus wrote unto him, when they were both Prisoners for the Gospel. [However in time past in certain Circumstances and By-matters of Religion, your wisdom, and my simplicity (I grant) hath a little jarred, each of us following the abundance of his own sense and judgment: Now be assured, that even with my whole heart, in the Bowels of Christ, I love you in the truth, and for the truth's sake which abideth in us.] Some godly Martyrs in Queen Mary's days disliked the Ceremonies, and none of them died in the defence of Ceremonies, Liturgy, and Prolacy, in opposition to all other Ecclesiastical Government and Order. It was the Protestant verity which they witnessed, and sealed in blood, in opposition to Popery; especially the prodigious Opinion of Transubstantiation, and the Abomination of the Romish Mass or Sacrifice. In the same bloody days, certain English Protestants being fled for refuge into Germany, and settled at Frankford, were divided amongst themselves about the Service-book, even with scandalous breach of Charity and in the issue, the Congregation was sadly broken and dissipated.

Observation.

Presbyterian Liberty.

What is intended by Due Liberty, might be a Doubt, did not the Coherence explain it to be a Freedom of Acting to all intents and purposes.

purposes at pleasure, (whether without Law, or against it, no matter) according to such presidents of Former times, as our Resolver refers unto, and justifies. He tells us, *The contest about Ceremonies began early*; and so in truth it did: For in the time of King *Edward*, there was a wambling toward the *Geneva Discipline*; but neither very earnest, nor very popular: and *That* (so far as I can learn) procured even by the Author of that Platform, *Calvin* himself. Concerning *Godly Martyrs in Queen Mary's days*; Some suffered that disliked the Ceremonies, Others, that liked them. That *none died in defence of them*, is a Remarque might have been spared; For the Question was matter of *Faith*, not *Discipline*.

The *Frankford Breach* indeed was a sad Story, but yet, considering the *Dividers*, of no great *Honor*, or *Authority* to our Friends purpose. *Knox* and *Whittingham* were the prime Ring-leaders in this Disorder, who upon some Disputes started about the Service-book, joyning with others of the Consistorian stamp, drew such an extract of it, as they thought fit, and sent it to *Calvin*, requesting his Opinion of it. Such was the Answer they received, as blew the whole Congregation into a flame; from whence arose that scandalous breach ensuing. *viz.* The *English Service* being established, *Whittingham*, *Gilby*, *Goodman*, with some others, *Divided*, and went to *Geneva*, whence, both by Letters and Discourses, they tampered the Ministers and People of *England* and *Scotland* into a revolt,
encou-

raging them to set up their new Discipline, in despite of all Opposers whatsoever.

page 27.

The Gospel returning under Queen Elizabeth, these differences were revived and held up by Disputes, Writings, and Addresses to several Parliaments; and there were great thoughts of heart for these Divisions.

Observati-
on.

Why this is English yet: it is but turning now to Queen Elizabeth's Reign to understand these people, and unriddle the *Due Liberty* they plead for. (But of This, in its proper place) Having drawn down the Quarrel from Edward the Sixth, to the blessed Restauration of Charles the Second, (whom God protect) he proceeds to descant upon the Present.

page 28.

The greatest part of the Ministers named Puritans, yielded conformity to those controverted Rites and Forms, that were by Law or Canons established, as to things burdensome not desirable, in their nature supposed indifferent, but in their use many ways offensive; and groaning more and more under the yoke of bondage, (as they conceived) they waited for deliverance, and were in the main, of one soul and spirit with the Nonconformists. And even then the way called Puritanism, did not give, but get ground. But now the Tenents of this way are rooted more than ever; and those things formerly imposed, are now by many, if not by the most of this way, accounted not onely burdensome, but unlawful.

But

But is it so, that Matters *by Law established*, *Observati-*
in themselves *Indifferent*, and onely *Burthen-*
some to day, (*rebus sic stantibus*) may become *The conse-*
Unlawful to morrow? By the same Rule, *quents of*
Kings may be taken away as well as *Bishops*; *Presbyte-*
all Dignities and Powers being alike submit- *rian Liber-*
ted to a Popular Level: For if the People *ty*.
shall think fit to say, the *Magistrate* is un-
lawful, as well as the *Ceremony*, by the same
reason he may destroy *One* with the *Other*; and
Virtually he does it. We know, the *Rites* and
Forms of Worshipping, are not of the *Essence*
of Religion, and the huge bustle about Dis-
cipline, is onely an Appeal to Ignorance and
Tumult. *The Church must be Reformed*. By
whom? Not by the Rabble. What means this
application then of so many factious Sermons,
and Libels to the *People*? They are not
Judges of the Controversie. But in a Cause
more capable of *Force* than *Argument*, they
do well to Negotiate, where *Clamour*, and
Presence, weigh more than *Modesty* and *Rea-*
son. If a man asks, by what Commission Act
these Zelots? They answer readily? *'Tis God's*
Cause, and better obey God than Man. He that
said, *Give not Credit to every Spirit*; I sup-
pose knew as much of Gods mind, as our *Illu-*
minates. Is not mistaken, or perverted Scrip-
ture, the ground of all *Schism* and *Heresie*?
Counsels may erre, they say, and cannot *Pres-*
byterians? How comes this Party to be more
infallible than their Neighbours? If they are
not, let but all other people of Different
Judgments take the same Freedom they do,

of our cries against any thing, under pretext of Conscience; let any man imagine the confusion. For, where every man is his own Judge, All men shall dispute, till each Particular condemns himself; so that the Strife is Endless, and this Event Restless, and Confusion.

This comes of not submitting to some Final, and over-ruling Decision. Upon this pinch at a dead list, they fly to their Judgment of Discretion; which leaves them still at Liberty to shape their Duty to their Profit. They tell us; They're try'd by the Word of God: not heeding, how That is again to be tri'd by Them; so that in Issue, their private Interpretation of the Scriptures must pass for the Law Paramount, to which both King and People are equally, and indispensably subjected. Undoubtedly, what God commands, we ought to do, and not to do what he forbids. This, in few words, comprises the Duty of Reasonable Nature, without distinction either of Offices or Persons. But these inviolable Fundamentals apart, the Accidents of Worship, the Modes of doing this or that; The *How, When, Where, &c.* are left various, and variable, according to the several Requisites of *Manners, Times, and Places*, at the Discretion of those Rulers whom God sets over us. Where we find matters of this middle nature orderly settled, and dispos'd, we are commanded to submit to these *Humane Ordinances for the Lord's sake*; and not to Obtrude upon the Word for Conscience, such Disagreements, as effectually arise from *Peevishness*, or want of

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due Enquiry. But why do I talk to those that
stop their Ears?

Their minds are fix'd in this Opinion, after a Page 29.
long time of search and practice, and are not
like to be reduc'd to the practice of former
times.

This is but Martin Junior Reviv'd, who Obser-
vation.
says, That it will be very dangerous to our State,
to maintain two contrary Fashions; That the
Magistrates are then bound, even for the
quieting of our State, to put down the one; That
those that stand for the Discipline, neither can
nor will give it over, (so as they will not be put
down) and that the said Magistrates cannot
maintain the corruption of our Church, namely,
Arch-bishops and Bishops, without the discon-
tentment of their Subjects.

Me-thinks the man of peace grows perem-
ptory. Will not this Argument from Search
and Practice, absolve them from Obedience
to the King, as well as to the Church? Has
not the Regal Power been scann'd and sifted,
as well as the Ecclesiastick? or have their pra-
ctises been more favourable to his Majesty,
than to the Clergy? But (their minds are fix'd,
and not to be reduc'd.) This is to say, that if the
Law and they cannot agree, they'l tug for't,
upon this supposition, thus he concludes.
That (in all reason, the imposing of such Page 29.
matters of Controversie, as by so many are
held unlawful, and by those that have a Zeal

for them judg'd indifferent; not necessary; cannot procure the peace of Church and Kingdom.)

Observation.

I say on the Contrary; That the peace of Church and Kingdom cannot be preserved, where every private and Licentious spirit shall dare to Question the Authority of either. In fine, admit the Scruple truly conscientious. It would be well yet, that such as fault the present Government, would Frame another, that should be liable to no exceptions, before they alter This. If that cannot be done, let us Rest Here; for if we are bound to change, till all are pleas'd, never must we expect to be at quiet. Some Consciences will have no Magistrates at all; Others will Govern those they have, or Quarrel with them. To Reconcile these Two in any end of Settlement, is as Impossible, as 'tis Unsafe to put much power into the Hands of People, so dangerously principled; (But to Destroy a Government none agree better, and this we speak upon Experience.)

From hence to his 40th. page, I find little but Rapture, in commendation of the Presbyterians, with now and then a snap at the late Prelates, which is beside my purpose. See now his Complement to the King.

Page 40.

Blessed be God for our gracious Sovereign, who makes it his care and study to allay distempers, and compose differences by his just and gracious Concessions already published concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs.

For

For fear his Majesty's Concessions should be taken for a pure Act of Grace, they are epithetized, *Just*, as well as *Gracious*, to lessen the Favour, by intimating the Duty; what Return gives this *Presbyterian* Party for this Indulgence? Are they not troublesome as ever both in their Writings and Contrivements?

That Declaration was no sooner publique, but a Petition was exhibited from divers Ministers in and about *London*; for more Liberty, with some formalities indeed of *Gratitude* for That. How many bold and scandalous Invectives since that time; both from the Press and Pulpit, against the Rites of the Church, and the Episcopal Clergy. Nay, and against the Sacred Majesty of That very Person, to whose Incomparable Clemency they owe their Heads and Fortunes? One observation here, to shew, that onely severity can work upon this Faction; * The single imprisonment of Crofton hath quiered that Party more, than all the multiply'd, and transcendent Mercies of His Majesty.

* Note.

That worthy Gentleman, in his Epistle Dedictory to the *Liturgical Considerator*, tells us, that [*The Common-prayer-book hath been Crofton expell'd by a Lawful Authority,*] (referring to an Ordinance of *January 3. 1644.*) If this be not Treason, then *Scot* and *Peters* were no Traitors. The *Considerator* further assures us, Page 34. [*That very few Christians that know the Power of Godliness, care for meddling with the Liturgy.*] I hope his Majesty may pass for one of those Few.

A great Assessor of his Principles is the

Author of the *Covenanters Plea*, although in some Respects more plausibly couch'd; in others Bolder; treating His Majesty with a most unpardonable Insolence, and with a Suitable regard all his Episcopal Friends as they fall in his way. I should exceedingly wonder how he escap'd a lash from the last Convention, especially Dedicating that reverend piece to the *Commons* then Assembled, did I not consider, that Those very Pamphlets, whereof His Majesty complains in His Declaration, touching *Ecclesiastical Affairs*, were by my self, at their first coming forth, delivered to several Members of that Session, which notwithstanding, they were still sold in the Hall; all the Interest I had being too little to get them suppressed. But now return we to our Author, who complains, that

Page 41.

The Presbyterians are loaded with many Calumnies; as, that they are against the Interest of Civil Magistracy, especially of Monarchy; That they are giddy, factious, schismatical, domineering, and what not?

Page 42.

But no such matter he assures us; for, They yield unto the Supreme Magistrate a Supreme political Power in all Spiritual Matters; but they do not yield that he is the Fountain of spiritual power, there being a spiritual Power belonging to the Church; if there were no Christian Magistrate in the world. They assert only a spiritual power over the Conscience, as intrinsically belonging to the Church; and acknowledge,

The Holy Cheat.

39

knowledge, that no Decree nor Canon of the Church, can be a binding Law to the Subjects of any Kingdoms under temporal penalties, till it be ratified by the Legislative power of that Kingdom. And they do not claim for the Convocation, or any other Ecclesiastical Convention, an Independency on Parliaments; if they did, surely the Parliament of England would resent such a Claim.

Neither are they Antimonarchical. Did the English or Scottish Presbyters ever go about to dissolve Monarchy, and to erect some other kind of Government? In no wise: for in the Solemn League and Covenant, they bound themselves to endeavour the preservation of the King's Person and Authority, and declared they had no intent to diminish his Majesty's just Power and Greatness.

How far their Principles comport with the Interest of Civil Magistracy or Monarchy, shall have a place by it self: yet I might very well content my self with what arises from his own words, as they lie here before us; to Prove what he Denies; for in the same Breath he both Starts the Question and Resolves it. Did not the English and Scotch Presbyters go about to dissolve Monarchy?

Observati.
on.

What is the Analysis of Monarchy, but a Government by a Single Person? (and, as I take it, the Injur'd Father of our present Sovereign was That Person, to whom of Right the Regal Dignity belonged.) Did not these Presbyters he talks of, place the Supreme Power

Presbytery
Antimonarchical.

The Holy Cheat.

in the Two Houses, and under Their Commission, seize the King's Towns, and Forts; Levy Arms; Tax the People; Plander, and Kill their Fellow-Subjects; Impose Oathes; Share His Majesty's Revenues; Persue, and Jewishly sell and betray His Sacred Person?

If to do all this, not onely Without, but expressly Against the King's Commission, be not to go about to dissolve Monarchy, I know not what is. Or if the Gentleman had rather dispute the Royal Prerogative, than confess his own Mistake in this Particular, we'll look a little that way too; but I doubt the Prospect will be none of the pleasantest.

Upon the Trial of Cook and Peters, This was Delivered for Law. See the Narrative, Page 182 and 183.

The two
Houses
have no
Coercive
Power
over the
King.

It is the Law of this Nation, That no One House, nor Both Houses of Parliament, have any Coercive power over the King: — That the Imprisoning of the King is Treason. And a little further, Thus, The King of England is one of those Princes who hath an Imperial Crown: What's That? It is not to do what he will; No, but it is, that he shall not be punished in his own Person, if he doth That which is in it selfe Unlawful.

This is a short and clear decision of the Case: nor will it serve the good man's turn

to argue their Integrity, from what they were bound to by their *Covenant and Declarations*. It matters not what they *Profess'd*, but what they *Did*. If this be all they have to say; some Heads are now upon the City-Gates that said as much.

What was the *Covenant*, but a Popular Sacrament of Religious Disobedience, a Mark of Discrimination, who were against the King, and who were for him? And this the Marquis of *Montrose* soon found, who being at first unwarily engaged in it, with the *Kirk-party*, quickly perceived his error, and retired; Living and dying the Honor of his Nation, and of the Royal Cause. Mark this, * *His Loyalty was charged upon him at his Death, for Breach of Covenant*. The Covenant an Oath of Confederacy.

* Note.

The *Presbyterian Casuists* would fain persuade the Nation, to think themselves obliged by that *Engagement*. Who Understands it first? (And certainly we cannot be bound to do we know not what) Next, 'tis impossible either to *Keep*, or *Break* it: 'tis made up of so many Contradictions. But once for All; there is a *Nullity* in the *Institution*.

No man can oblige himself in things where in he is subject, without leave from his Superior. And again; The Oath of One who is under the power of Another, without the others consent, is neither Lawful nor Obligatory. Thus the Reverend, and Learned Bishop *Sanderson*. Now to my *Presbyterian* again.

The Covenant neither lawful nor binding.

After the violent change of Government, Pag. 44. they

they came slowest, and entered latest into those new Engagements imposed by the Usurped Powers, and some utterly refused, even to the forfeiture of their preferments, and the hazard of their livelihoods, when the Nation in general submitted to the yoke; and many of those who thus object against them, did in temporizing run with the foremost. The truth is, the generality of Conscientious Presbyterians never ran with the current of those times. Some more eminent among them, Ministers and others, hazarded their lives, and others lost their lives, in combining to bring our Sovereign that now is to the rightful possession of this his Kingdom. And those in Scotland adventured no more then all to uphold him; and when he lost the Day, they lost their Liberty; and when he fell, it was said by the Adversary, Presbytery was fallen.

Observation.
Some honest Presbyterians.

Where I must either leave the Story foul on the Kings side, or prove it so on the Other, my choice is pardonable; but otherwise I shall be very tender of engaging the Honest Presbyterians, with the Guilty. That many of them lov'd His Majesty, and suffer'd for him, I will not question; and that they all submitted most unwillingly, to that Violent Change here mention'd, I do as little doubt. But I must needs say, the Action had been Nobler, and the Loyalty much Clearer, had they consulted the Kings Security, before they lost their own.

This does not yet oblige me to the same Charity for the Scottish Party; who first, daring

during a Treaty with His Majesty, basely and brutishly murdered *Monrose*, and after that, Treated the King himself, liker a Prisoner, than a Prince.

He urges, that [*the Presbyterians first divid- ed, and then dissipated the Sectarian Party, and so made way for his Majesties return in Peace.*] *Lambert*, and his Nine Worthies did as much.

I do believe him too, [*that the sense of the Covenant quickned many men's Consciences in their allegiance to the King.*] So did the Cock-crowing mind *St. Peter* of the denial of his Master. *But he went on, and wept bitterly*; So does not every body. Alas, alas, the Saints have no faults; what should they weep for? *It may be peradventure said, the Presbyterians would enervate Monarchy; but surely* (says our Discourser)

I cannot find the rise of this Objection, unless from hence, that they were not willing to come under any yoke, but that of the Law of the Realm, or to pay Arbitrary Taxes, levied without consent of Parliament.

From hence these two Deductions; First, That the Subjects free from that which binds the King, namely, the Yoke of Law. Suppose He breaks that Law, by what Law can we question him? At best, 'tis but to punish One Transgression by Another. The Second Hint is Dis-ingenuous: as if *Arbitrary Taxes* had been the subject of the Difference. All the world knows, before a blow

Page 45.

Page 46.

Ibid.

Observation.

blow was strook, the King had stript himself to his *Honour*, and his *Conscience*, to gratifie his People. But twas the *Government* they aim'd at, and that they fought for. Here is yet another gentle slip: What are *Taxes* to *Presbytery*? But this is a Devil that will hardly be kept within his Circle.

Just so in their Practices do they reduce all *Civil Actions*, under the Cognizance of their Courts of *Conscience*, as he brings here by head and shoulders, *Arbitrary Taxes* to *Water of Religion*.

page 46.

I confess (says he) there are none that more reverence their *Liberties*, and value the *native-happiness* of the free-born Subjects of England. And verily their true knowledge and sense of the nature of *Christian Religion*, makes a due freedom exceeding precious: For this Religion is not variable, according to the will of man, but grounded upon an *unchangeable* and *eternal truth*, and doth indispensably bind every soul, high and low, to one divine Law and Rule, perpetual and unalterable. And therefore doth strongly plead the expedience of a due *civil Liberty* on the behalf of its Professors; yet such a liberty as will not enfeeble *Monarchy*, nor the *Legal power* of the Kings of England.

Observation.

Truly I think I have not seen words so well put together, that signifie so little. Because Religion is not variable, but grounded upon an *unchangeable* and *eternal Truth*, &c. —

Therefore

Therefore the Professors of it must have a due civil Liberty, &c. Is not a Due Liberty, Due to all people? Again, *What is civil Liberty to matter of salvation?* And yet again. Why should the Presbyterians challenge that liberty to themselves; which they refuse to others, upon the very same Plea: and not rather submit their Discipline to the Law, then stoop the Law to their Discipline? There is a Liberty which is a cloak for Maliciousness: and I am afraid, *Theirs* and *That* are much a-kind. One thing is very notable; they never state what they would have, their terms are general, and indefinite, hard to be understood, because they are resolv'd not to be satisfi'd. *A Due Freedom, a Due Civil Liberty, The Legal Power;* — What means all this, but any thing they shall be pleased to make of it?

A King ruling a free People, hath a Power Page 47.
much more noble and more free, than he that ruleth over perfect Vassals, that have no Propriety. The power is more noble, because it hath a more noble subject of Government; it is more honorable to rule Men than Beasts, and Freemen than slaves. Likewise the power is more free: For whatsoever Prince hath not his power limited by his people's legal freedom, he will be bound up some other way, either by the potency of subordinate Princes and great Lords within the Realm, or by a veterane Army, as the Turkish Emperor by his Janizaries, and the Roman Cæsars by the Pretorian Bands and the Legions. Upon which account, to be a powerful Monarch,

Monarch over a free people, is the freedom and glory of our Sovereign Lord, above all the Potentates on earth.

Observation.

A King ruling a free people, is a kind of Presbyterianism, and sounds better in the mouth of a Lawyer, than of a Divine. The Correlate to Rule, is Subjection: nor will their Title to a Propriety, yet justify the common usage of the Term. 'Tis of a dangerous Intimation, and seems to give the people more than comes to their share. (I speak with reverence to the benignity of our English Laws, and the Indubitable right which every Subject hath to the Benefits thereof.)

That it is more honorable to Rule Free-men than Slaves, is but a Complement. For I can make those Slaves, Free, when I please, whereas the other way of my power's confin'd; that is, in Equity, a Prince is bound to observe the Law, as his own Act: and if he fails, the people may compel him to it, if they can shew a Law for't. To end this point; What Prince soever shall suffer every bubbling brain to controvert the bounds of King and Subject; the Royal Authority, and the Peoples Freedom; that Prince, I say, runs a great hazard of his Sovereignty. The very moving of the Question, is to prophane the Sacredness of Majesty; and by degrees begets irreverend and sawcy habits in the people.

Page 48.

But Rebellion (he tells us) and Disobedience, is the loud out-cry of some against this Party.
And

And this were a crying sin indeed. But let not sober minds be hurried into prejudice by such exclamations and out-cries. It were to be wished, for common peace and amity, that the late publick Discords were eternally forgotten. But seeing some in these times of expected Reconciliation, will not cease to implead and condemn the honest minded, and render them odious to the higher Powers, a necessity is laid upon us to speak something Apologetical, at least to mitigate the business, and remove prejudice.

Sure this loud out-cry of Rebellion and Dis-observance, comes from within himself; for on truly I have a little watch'd the Press, and since his Majesty's Return, (nay, a good while before) upon my conscience I have not met with one syllable of bitterness against that Party, but Defensive: Yet I dare undertake to produce forty Presbyterian Pamphlets, and Discourses, of fresh date, exceeding foul against the King, and his Adherents. It really makes me blush and tremble, to consider how great a mercy they abuse, how sad a vengeance they provoke. Had but these people the least spark of natural affection and remorse, the venerable ruines of a glorious Church and State would work upon them; Or now and then a thought how matters stand betwixt God and their Souls: But their great care of others make them neglect themselves, and become true Anathemas for a pretended publick good. However they do well to cry Whore first; and call that a Necessitated Apology, which

Presbyterians
seditious and
impertinent.

which seems to me a palpable and causeless Slander.

We have heard much and often of the Presbyterians *Loyalty* and *Religion*; we'll look a little now into their *Law*, which very fairly gives us to understand, that the *Unbishopsing* of *Timothy* and *Titus*, will not do their trick. They are at work already upon the two main props of *Royalty*; the King's *Negative Voice*, and the *Power of the Sword*. A blessed Age the while, when the *Pulpit* shall pretend to dispose of the *Crown*; Kerve out the *Government*; and every scribbling *Priest* vent his seditious and crude *Politiques* to the People. But now it works.

page 49.

The Presbyterian Party in England never engaged under a less Authority than that of both Houses of Parliament. I have read, that the Parliament of England hath several capacities, and among the rest, these two; First, that it represents the People as Subjects, and so it can do nothing but manifest their grievances, and petition for relief. Secondly, That by the constitution it hath part in the Sovereignty, and so it hath part in the Legislative power, and in the final judgment. Now when as a part of the Legislative Power resides in the Two Houses, as also a Power to redress grievances, and to call into question all Ministers of State and Justice, and all Subjects of whatsoever degree in case of Delinquency, it might be thought, that a part of the Supreme Power doth reside in them, though they have not the honorary Title.

Me-thinks

Me thinks we should do well to leave, call-
 ing the *Two Houses*; the *Parliament of Eng-
 land*, having already paid so dear for that mis-
 take. Concerning the *Power of the Parlia-
 ment of England*. 'Tis beyond doubt, onely
 inferiour to the Fountain of all Power, even
 God Himself. But then an *Agreement* is im-
 ply'd; neither *King*, *Lords*, nor *Commons*,
 nor any *Two* of them, can pretend to a *Par-
 liamentary Authority*, without the *Third*.
 This is not to suppose *Co-ordination* neither.
 The *Two Houses* are still *Subjects*: Their Of-
 fice being onely *Consultive*, or *Preparatory*.
 The Character of *Power* rests in the *final San-
 ction*, and that's the *King's*: So that effectually,
 the passing of a *Bill*, is but the *granting of a
 Request*.

So much for *Parliaments*, in propriety of
 speaking. Now to the *Power of the Two
 Houses*, by my Antagonist mis-call'd, *The
 Parliament of England*, upon which Bottom
 stands the *Presbyterian Fabrick*.

He tell us, They Act in *Two Capacities*. As
Subjects, or *Petitioners*, first: and Then, as
Sharers of the Sovereignty: As if he said,
 They are sent to Ask what they List, and Take
 what they Please. The *Petitioning Capacity*
 is not for the *Presbyterians* purpose; where-
 fore he waves That, and sticks to the Other.
 What their *Power* is, will best appear from the
King's Writ of Summons, which both *Com-
 mands* and *Limits* them, *Pro QUIBUSDAM
 arduis, & urgentibus negotiis, &c. — OR-
 DINAVIMUS, &c.* — He states it other-

The Legi-
slative
power in
the King.

wise, and places a part of the Legislative Power in the Two Houses, which is not Doctor-like. For the Legislative Power is totally the King's. They do but make the Bill, He makes the Law; 'Tis the Stamp, not the Matter, makes it current. Nor do I comprehend what he can mean by Part of the Legislative Power: to my thinking, he might as well have said, Part of an Indivisible Point. This will come to a pretty Fraction, Two Thirds of a Parliament, shall make Two Thirds of a Law. Is it not enough that the King can do nothing without the Two Houses, unless they may do every thing without the King? Grant this, and of all people living we are the greatest Slaves, as of all Constitutions ours is the most Ridiculous.

The Two
Houses no
Court of
Judica-
ture.

Touching the power of the two Houses, to Redress Grievances, and Question all Ministers of State and Justice,] The Power they have is either from Prescription or Commission. To the Former, I think, Few will pretend; and to the Latter, None.

Never was the House of Commons, at any hand reputed a Court of Justice. They cannot give an Oath, impose a Fine: nor indeed exercise any Empire but over their own Members. 'Tis true, the Lords House hath in some Cases a Right of Judicature; but Claiming by Prescription, they are likewise Limited by Customs. Further, Both Houses are no Court of Judicature, and (with due Reverence to his Majesty) the King himself in Parliament, joyn'd with the Three Estates, claim not a right

right of Judication, but very rarely, and with great Tenderness. It is the proper business of a Parliament to *Make Laws*, *Alter*, or *Repeal* them, not to *Interpret* them, unless in matters of very great Importance. That's left to the Judges; and to determine of their Validity. For Acts of Parliament, either *Repugnant* in themselves, or of *impossible Supposition*, or against *Common Right*, are deem'd not Binding.

The Common, and most specious shift of all the rest, is, that *the Government of this Nation is in King, Lords, and Commons*. This must be swallowed with great wariness, or 'twill choak half the Nation. By the **KING**, *Architectonic*; and by the other **TWO**, *Organic*, (as *Walker* distinguishes it) the *King*, as the *Architect*; and the *Two Houses*, as his *Instruments*. If there were neither *Practice*, *Law*, nor *Interest* in the Case, me thinks the very odds of Honor in the Deputation, should be Enough to carry it. The *King* is *God's Representative*, *They* are but the *Peoples*.

Say I should now admit them all they challenge, (as Delegated by the People) so tickle is the point yet, that if any one single Person of the number, should be illegally debarr'd the Freedom of his Vote; that nicety avoids, and nulls the whole Proceeding. I can hardly think any thing clearer, than the error of placing *part of the Suprema Power in the two Houses*. It implies a Contradiction: A *part* of a Thing (with leave) *Imparible*. (But Drowning men will catch at Straws)

Presbyters
serve King
and Bishops
alike.

However, I perceive, that his Majesty's best Friends, and the Church's, (as they style themselves) are resolved to serve both King and Bishops alike. That is; just as the Bishop is to rule in Consociation with his Presbyters, so shall his Majesty with his Fellow-Printers, the Presbyterian Members. It cannot but exceedingly dispose the King, to grant these people all DUE LIBERTY, that will give him so much. Crowns are but Troublefome; and Government sits heavy upon the shoulders of a Single Person; They'l ease him of that Care and Weight, and for the honor of their Prince, and their Country's good, divide the Glorious load among themselves.

Exact
Col, 316.

This being past, (which heaven avert) We may (says the late King) be waited on bare-headed; we may have our Hand kissed, the style of Majesty continued to us; and the King's Authority, declared by both Houses of Parliament, may be still the style of your Commands; we may have Swords and Maces carried before us, and please our Self with Sight of a Crown and Scepter.] — But soft, the Man relents, and tells us, (though the Law says, the King can do no wrong) [*That This part of the Supreme power, is indeed capable of doing wrong, yet how it might be Guilty of Rebellion, is more difficult to conceive.*]

page 49.

Observati-
on.

Put case the two Houses should take up Arms against the King, because he will not Banish the one half of his Friends, and hang up the rest: would not that be Rebellion? I could

could start twenty Suppositions more; but I'll stop here, and the rather, because our Author professes, that [*in this high and tender point, it belongs not to him to Determine.*] Yet he goes on, and certainly believes, that the world is divided into *Fools* and *Presbyterians*: he would not otherwise have thrust upon us so gross a Juggle, as that which I am now about to examine.

Touching the much debated point of resisting the higher Powers, without passing any judgment in the great Case of England, I shall only make rehearsal of the words of Grotius, a man of Renown, and known to be neither Anti-monarchical, nor Anti-prelatical; which are found in his Book, De jure Belli & Pacis, by himself dedicated to the French King. (Si Rex partem habeat summi Imperii, partem alteram populus aut Senatus, Regi in partem non suam involanti, vis justa opponi poterit, quia eatenus Imperium non habet. Quod locum habere censeo, etiam si dictum sit, belli potestatem penes Regem fore. Id enim de bello externo intelligendum est, cum alioqui quisquis Imperii summi partem habeat, non possit non jus habere eam partem tuendi.) lib. 1. c. 4. s. 13.

Here we find *Grotius* cited, to justify, that the Lords and Commons may make war against the King, to defend their Title to the Supreme Power. (*Pythagoras* his opinion concerning *Wild-fowl*, had been as much to the purpose)

Observation.
Presbyterians
an Loyalty.

purpose.) For the English Reader's sake I'll turn it; and in this point desire a more than ordinary attention.

Here the Supremacy is in the King, in some Cases; in Others, in the People, or Senate. That King invading the others Right, may be lawfully resisted; for his power reaches not so far. And this I think will stand good, although I have already placed the right of making War, in the King; for that must be understood of a foreign War. Since whosoever hath a part of the Supreme Power, hath consequently a right of maintaining such part as he hath.] There is one line yet remaining, which our Author hath very prudently kept for a Reserve, till the Presbyterians shall have gotten the better of the King. *Quod ubi fit; potest Rex etiam suam Imperii partem belli jure amittere;* That is, Where thus it happens, the King's encroachment upon the People's Right, may fairly amount to a forfeiture of his own.

Is it not pity that people of these milde, and complying Principles, should be charg'd with Disobedience? If this be the case of England, the Question is no longer, the Presbyterians Liberty, but the King's Title to his Crown.

That Chapter of Grotius, whence he takes his Quotation, treats *De Bello subditorum*, in *Superiores*; Where, and where not, Subjects may take up Arms against their Superiors. This learned man, among other Cases, tells us, in this they may, and the Reason is evident. For where the Sovereignty is thus dispos'd;

pos'd; half to the King, half to the People, that Prince is but a *Subject* to some purposes, a *King* to others. So that in any point of Sovereignty, formally vested in the People; He is not their Superior, but they his. How finely he hath match'd the Case of *England*, where Kings have no Restraint, but what they put upon themselves, for the Laws are their proper Acts! But mark the process of his Reasonings: and how (in his own phrase) *he feels his way step by step. The Presbyterians were ever in the right*; he says. Why, if he would be quiet, who says the contrary? But then the King was in the wrong.

To bring the Case up to *Grotius* his determination: we must admit *First*, that by the constitution of *England*, the Sovereignty is shared betwixt the King and the two Houses: and *Next*, that the late King did actually invade the Popular Prerogative: from whence arises the lawfulness of resistance; and after that, *Potest Rex etiam suam Imperii partem Belli jure amittere*. They have at last the same right to the Crown, they had at first to the Quarrel. He that peruses the first eight Sections of the fore-mentioned Chapter, will find *Grotius* no favourer of his Opinions that quotes him. Be the Prince what he will, he tells us, *Summum Imperium tenentibus resisti jure non posse*. *Bodin* yet more expressly, that *England* and *Scotland* are absolute Monarchies: That the Supreme Power is onely in the King; (*Jura Majestatis, ac Imperii summum, in unus Principis Arbitrio versari*). Further,

Bodin. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 5. De Rep. lib. 1. cap. 8. lib. 3. cap. 1. Ibid.

In Senatu nullum est Imperium; Nor onely so, but whoever urges the contrary, meditates a Commotion, Isti qui Imperium Senatu tribuunt, Reipublica interitum, ac status everfionem moliuntur.

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As to the point of Loyalty now in question, the subversion of the Fundamental Government of this Kingdom could not be effected, till those Members of Parliament that were Presbyterian, were many of them imprisoned, others forcibly secluded by the violence of the Army; and the rest thereupon withdrew from the House of Commons.

Observation.

Then it seems till that violence by the Army, upon the Presbyterians, there was none acted by the Presbyterians upon the King. To seize his Towns and Magazines; Hunt, and Assault his Royal Person; Part his Revenues; Hang up his Friends: All this is Justifi'd, in Case his Majesty refuses to be rul'd by his Two Houses. Alas, the Fundamental Government was safe, (I waarrant ye) so long as the Rights of Sovereignty were exercis'd, first by the Assembly in Scotland, and then by a pack'd Party, in a close Committee: And the Presbyterians never the less honest men for selling the King first; Then voting him a Prisoner; and after that, for Pinching him even upon the very Point of Presbtery. Surely they are much to blame that charge these Innocents with disloyalty.

If the Presbyterian Members had not been Forced,

Forced, (they say) *all had been well.* Truly it may be so; yet if I mistake not, there was a time when the *Episcopal Members* were Forced too; and had that Violence been spared, it had never come to This. But I suppose, the *City-Tumults* against BISHOPS: the *Out-cries* of the *Rabble* at *White-hall*: the *Multitudes* that Baul'd for *Reformation*: Posting up such and such for *Straffordians*, as honestly opposed the Torrent of the People. This in the *Well-affected*, passes for *Christian Liberty*.

But our Author follows his Opinion with a Proof.

For they (says he, meaning the *Presbyterians*) had voted the *King's Concessions* a Ground sufficient for the *House* to proceed to settle the Nation; and were willing to cast, whatever they Contended for, upon a *Legal Security*. Page 51.

Waving their Former Vote of *Non-Ad-observati- dreses*, and that foul *Declaration* of their Reasons for it: We will in Charity believe, they were over-aw'd, and that it was extorted by the Army. But what excuse for the *Matter* of the *Propositions*? That they were actuated by a *Presbyterian Spirit*, appears in This, that they demanded a *Settlement* of a *Presbyterian Government*. It remains now onely from Hence, to gather the *Fair Equivalence*, of this Gentleman's Doctrine, and to discover what 'tis the *Presbyterian Faction* calls a *Legal Security*.

They

*Presbyteri-
an Positi-
ons.*

They hold, That if the King of England will not comply with the Two Houses, the People may Chase, Sequester, and Imprison Him: And when they have him in Distress, they may without Disloyalty press Him to these, or the like Conditions for His Liberty.

1. By a Publick Act to justify that Violence, and condemn himself.

2 ly. To Renounce and Abolish Episcopacy, although bound by Oath and Judgment to defend it.

3 ly. To Transfer the Right of Levying Men and Monies, to the Two Houses; by them to be raised and disposed of at pleasure, without rendering any Accompt to his Majesty.

4 ly. To deliver up the Lives, Liberties, and Fortunes of all that served him, to the Mercy of that Party.

5 ly. To grant, that all Offices of Trust may be disposed of by the Appointment of Both Houses.

This is a short, and modest Accompt of Presbyterian Loyalty, the Due Liberty they contend for: which being settled upon a Legal Security, with such further Concessions, as their Modesty shall vouchsafe to require, puts an end to the Dispute. His late Majesty observes

serves (upon Uxbridge-Treaty) That it was a grand Maxim with them, always to ask something, which in Reason and Honor must be denied, that they might have some colour to refuse all that was in other things granted.] And so we find it. But what's the Reason of this peevishness?

Is there any thing in the Nature of Prelacy Page 52. that frames the mind to Obedience and Loyalty? Or is there any thing in Presbytery, that inclines to Rebellion and Disobedience?

Truly I think there is. Prelacy holds a better proportion in the Scale of Order, as a more regular Subordination of Duties and Relations. Nature and Providence do not move by Leaps, but by Insensible and Soft Degrees, which give Stability and Beauty to the Universe. Is not the World compos'd of Disagreements, Hot and Cold, Heavy and Light? ——— And yet we see those Oppositions are by the means of middle, and Conciliating mixtures wrought into a Compliance? 'Tis the same case in Subject and Superior: Higher and Lower, betwixt Top and Bottom, are but as several Links of one providential Chain, where every Individual, by vertue of this mutual Dependency, Contributes to the Peace and Benefit of the Whole. Some are below me; and This sweetens the Thought that I am below Others: By which Libration are prevented those Distempers which arise either from the Affectation of
Observation.
Prelacy a more orderly Constitution than Presbytery.
more

more Power, or the Shame of having none at all.

As these *Degrees* of *Mean* and *Noble*, are beyond doubt of Absolute Necessity to Political Concord; so possibly the Closer the Remove, the better yet, as to the point of Social expedience; provided, that the Distances be such as to avoid Confusion, and preserve Distinct Offices, and Powers from enterfering. Nor is this Gradual method only suited to Humane Interest, as being most accommodate to publick Quiet, and to defend the Sacredness of Majesty from popular Distempers: But 'tis the very Rule which God himself Imposes upon the whole Creation: *Making of the same Lump, one Vessel to Honor, and another to Dishonor.* Subjecting by the Law of his own Will, *This to That: That to what's next above it: Both to a Further Power, all to Himself.* And here we rest: as at the Fountain of Authority. From God, *Kings* Reign; They appoint their *Substitutes*, and so on to inferior Delegations; *All Powers derive from a Divine Original.*

Rom. 9.
21.

This Orderly Gradation, which we find in Prelacy, must needs beget a Reverence to Authority; the Hierarchy it self depending upon a Principle of Obedience; whereas our Utopian Presbytery advances it self upon a Level of Confusion. It is a kind of Negative Faction, united to dissolve a laudable and settled frame of Government, that they may afterward set up they know not what. We may have learn'd thus much from late and sad

bad experience. Let him that would know more of it, read the *Survey of pretended Holy Discipline*.

I think it would be hard to shew one eminent Presbyterian, that stickles not for an Aristocracy in the *State*, as well as in the *Church*: and he that said, *No Bishop, no King*, gave a shrewd judgment; not as implying a Princes absolute dependance upon Bishops, but in effect the King's Authority is wounded through the Church; the Reformation of what is amiss, belonging to the *Ruler*, not to the *People*. I do not yet condemn all *Presbyters*, nor justify all *Prelates*.

We are told, *That in ancient times, and for a series of many Ages, the Kings of England have had tedious conflicts with Prelates, in their Dominions.*] 'Tis Right, and the same cause is now espoused by our more than ordinary Papal Presbyterians; to wit, Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction over the Civil Power. But we are further Question'd.

If Presbytery and Rebellion be connatural, how comes it to pass, that those States or Kingdoms where it hath been established or tolerated, have for any time been free from broils and commotions.

It is as true, that those places have been quietest, where Presbytery hath gain'd footing, as tis, that Presbyterians have never disclaimed or abandoned their lawful Prince: that they

Page 53.

Page 53.

Observation.

Ibid.

they have never ceased to solicit, and supplicate his Regards and Favours, even when their power hath been at the highest, and his sunk lowest.

Observation.

This is something which in good manners wants a name. How far the Presbyterians have Abandoned their Prince, I shall not press, but rather refer the Reader to examine how far, and in what manner they have Solicited him. (*Conjunctio contrarium.*)

His late Majesty, after forty messages for Peace, and a Personal Treaty, finding himself most barbarously laid aside; in a Declaration from Carisbrook Castle, Dated Janu. 18. 1647. Expostulates the matter in these Terms.

Reliquie
sacra Co-
roline.
Page 158.

Now would I know, what it is that is desired: Is it Peace? I have shewed the way (being both willing and desirous to perform my part in it) which is, a just Compliance with all chief Interests. Is it Plenty and Happiness? They are the inseparable effects of Peace. Is it Security? I, who wish that all men would forgive and forget like Me, have offered the Militia for My time. Is it Liberty of Conscience? He who wants it, is most ready to give it. Is it the right Administration of Justice? Officers of trust are committed

committed to the Choice of My two Houses of Parliament. As it frequent Parliaments: I have legally, fully concurr'd therewith. Is it the Arriers of the Army: Upon settlement, they will certainly be paid, with much ease; but before, there will be found much difficulty, if not impossibility in it.

Thus all the world cannot but see My real, and unwearied endeavours for Peace, the which (by the grace of God) I shall neither repent me of, nor ever be slackned in: Notwithstanding My past, present, or future sufferings. But, If I may not be heard, let every one judge, who it is that obstructs, the Good I would do, or might do.

Where the right lies, a Presbyterian may better Determine; than a Royallist Question.

— *Magnose iudicio quisq; tueretur.*

Here's the Testimony of a Pedant, in Balance against the Authority of a Prince.

He tells us by and by, that Prophaneness, Page 55.
Intemperance, Revellings, Out-rages, and filthy lewdness were not at any time in the memory of the present age, held under more Restraint, than in the late distracted times, by means of a Practical Ministry.

These

Observation.

These Generals spell nothing, and to name Particulars were not so candid; I could else make up *Scots* and *Peters*, at least a score, even out of the select Tribe of the Reformers, (and these I think are not as yet Canoniz'd for Saints.)

It is no prophaneſs (is it?) to play the *Hocus Pocus* in a Pulpit; with *Rings* and *Bodkins*; to talk *Treason* by Inspiration; and entice the holy Ghost to *Murder* and *Rebellion*. To appoint *Mock-Fasts*, and thank God for *Victories* he never gave them. To swear for, and against the King, in the same breath. To convert Churches into *Stables*, and for fear of *Superstition* to commit *Sacrilege*.

Nor is it *Out-rage* sure, or *Intemperance* to seize the *Patrimony* of the Church, the King's *Revenues*; pillage and kill their fellow-Subjects. To set up *Ordinances* against settled *Laws*, and subject the *Ten Commandments* to the *superior Vote* of a *Committee*. To justify *Tumults* against *Authority*, and suffer the most damnable *Heresies* to scape without reproof. But what if there were *Disorders*; by whom were they caused?

Page 59.

It is most unreasonable to object, that the late wild postures, extravagancies, and incongruities in Government, were the works of Presbytery, or Presbyterians. The Nation had never proof of Presbytery, for it was never settled; but rather decry'd, and expos'd to prejudice by those that were in sway, and that in the more early times of the late Wars.

I must confess indeed, that *Presbytery* was *Observati-*
never settled, nor ever likely to be, so much *on.*

did the whole Nation stomach it; But yet now
this agrees with his former Reasoning,
pag. 29. I do not understand. There he pre-

tends, that by ** long practise mens minds are*
fix'd in this opinion: and that the Party is *nu-*
merous. Here he contents himself to acknow-

** Note.*

ledge, that the Presbyterians lost their power
early, and that they never recovered it since.

This will not serve his turn, to acquit the Fa-
ction (so denominated) of our late Miseries.

Our Sovereign (of blessed memory) brings
the contest down, *to his surprisal at Holmbury,*

and the Distractions in the two Houses, the
Army, and the City, ensuing upon it. These

(says that excellent Prince) are but the
struglings of those Twins, which lately one

Womb enclosed, the Younger striving to
prevail against the Elder. ** What the*

** Note.*

Presbyterians have hunted after, the In-

dependents now seek to catch for them-

selves.] In fine; One finish'd what the

other began; for the King died at last, but of
those wounds which he at first received in his

Authority.

His Majesty, upon his leaving Oxford, and
going to the Scots, clears this yet further:

where he calls it, *Adventuring upon their*
Loyalty, who first began his troubles.

The truth of this matter (says he) is cleared Page 38.

by a passage of our late Sovereign, in a Letter to his Majesty that now is. [All the lesser Factions were at first officious Servants to Presbytery their great Master, till time and Military success discovering to each other their particular advantages, invited them to part stakes, and leaving the joyn't stock of uniform Religion, pretended each to drive for their party the trade of profits and preferments, to the breaking and undoing not onely of the Church and State, but of Presbytery it self. ——— (It follows) which seem'd and hop'd at first to have engros'd all.

Note.

Observation.

The last line is as true as any of the rest; but all truths are not to be spoken. Indeed this Slip is somewhat with the grossest. Not to trouble my self with their formal Fopperies, of Deacons, Elders, and their Parish-meetings; Those are but popular amusements: We'll pass to what's more pertinent, and see how he acquits his friends of joyning with the Independents.

Page 60.

The truth is, Sectarianism grew up in a Mystery of Iniquity and State-policy, and it was not well discerned, till it became almost triumphant by Military successes.

Observation.

'Tis a strange thing the Presbyterians should not see what they themselves contrived;

ved; what all others took notice of; and what the late King offered to prove, [*In his Declaration of August the 12th 1642.*] The Insolence of Sectaries being not onely wink'd at, but publickly avow'd; and the Law thwarted to protect them. See what one says (no stranger to their practises) to prove, and evidence the Combination.

Exact Collections.
Pag. 531.

The Leading-men, or Grandees, first divided themselves into two Factions or Junctō's, Presbyterians and Independents: *seemingly to look onely at the Church, but they involv'd the Interests of the Common-wealth.* — These having seemingly divided themselves, and having really divided the Houses, and captivated their respective Parties judgments. — Teaching them by an implicate Faith, Jurare in verba Magistrī, to pin their opinions upon their sleeves: They begin to advance their projects of monopolizing the profits, preferments, and power of the Kingdom in themselves. To which purpose, though the Leaders of each party seem to maintain a hot opposition, yet when any profit or preferment is to be reach'd at, it is observ'd, that a powerful Independent especially, moves for a leading Presbyterian, or a leading Presbyterian for an Independent: And seldom doth one oppose or speak against another, in such Cases, unless somewhat of particular Spleene or Competition come between: which causeth them to break the Common-rule. By this means, the Grandees of each Faction, seldom miss their mark, since an Independent moving for a Presbyterian, his Reputation carries

History of
Independency.
page 1.

page 2.

ries the business clear with the Independent party: and the Presbyterians will not oppose a Leading man of their own side.

I find we are not like to Agree, for these people cannot see their own Faults, nor we their Virtues. I would take a good Journey to meet any man stiff in that way, that would but Confess he was ever in any error.

Page 63.

Of all the prejudices and scandals taken against this way, there is none greater than this, that it is represented as tyrannical and domineering, and that those who live under it, must (like Issachar) crouch under the burdens.

Observation.

We do indeed account the Presbyterian Discipline very Tyrannical, and by and by we'll give our reasons for it. Not *because this Discipline censures Scandalous Disorders* (as he insinuates) but for that it subjects all Civil matters to a Consistorian cognisance, and rapt by an Impulse of Passion, calls many things *Scandalous*, which measured by the rule of Piety and Reason, are found Praiseworthy, and of laudable Example. The usage of the Common-prayer-book is to *Them*, *Scandalous*, though settled by the Law: but to eject a Minister for reading it, though both without Law, and against it, That, *They* esteem no scandal; *We*, the contrary.

I Have now brought the Gentleman to his first Stage, where I might very fairly leave him, for having already done my *business*; what I do more, is but for *Company*. So far as I can judge, I have not scap'd one syllable material to his purpose: nor have I either broken his Periods, or unlink'd his Reasonings, to puzzle, or avoid his meaning. How fairly I have dealt with what I have expos'd: whether in matter of *Fact*, *Deduction*, or *good Manners*, (the Subject of the Difference duely weigh'd) That I submit to the Reader, and where the reason lies betwixt us.

I have indeed omitted a great part of the Debate, as not at all related to my Design, nor (to speak freely) much to the point in Question. His frequent and Rhetorical Raptures, extolling to the Heavens, the *Wisdom* and *Sanctity* of the *Presbyterians*; (but above all, the *Legions* of the Saints) what does this florid vanity signifie more than the putting of his own Name to a fair Picture, when yet, for ought *he proves*, and for ought *we discern*, there's not one line betwixt them of Agreement.

The contrary course he takes with the *Prelatick party*. They (forsooth) are *Not* so and so: and from his *Generals*, There he is pleased to enter into *prohibited particulars*, taxing in *special* manner the excesses of some of our late Prelates: but without any instances of

good in the Other Party, which does but spitefully and weakly imply, that *Bishops* have more *Faults*, than *Presbyterians* have *Virtues*. It will not be now expected, that we that differ in the *Premises*, should agree in the *Conclusion*. But for that we'll take our Fortunes.

Page 65. Upon the whole matter aforegoing, we firmly build this Position :

That the Presbyterian Party ought not in Justice or Reason of State, to be rejected and depressed, but ought to be protected and encouraged.

Page 66. (This is but one Doctor's opinion ; we think otherwise.) Nevertheless (says he) there being a seeming complication in this business, and another ample Party appearing in competition, a difficulty remains, and the matter falls into a further deliberation. And thereupon we are fallen upon the second Main Enquiry.

II. Quest. *Whether the Presbyterian Party may be protected and encouraged, and the Episcopal not deserted nor disobliged.*

Observation.

'Tis a particular Grace, that the *Bishops* Party may yet be admitted into the Competition, and that the man of the short Robe will vouchsafe to enquire into the Consistence of

of *Episcopacy* and *Presbytery*: yet it was boldly ventur'd to Determine what *Ought* to be done before he had examin'd, whether the Thing was *Fesible* or no.

I shall not spend my Time to Controvert *Idea's*, and wrangle about Governments in the Air: we are for Plain and Practicable Contrivements, such as *Authority*, *Good Order*, and *Long Experience* have recommended to us.

I suppose the agreeing of *Both Parties* in such *Middle terms* as he proposes, a thing not utterly Impossible. Many things may be fair enough in *Notion*, yet of exceeding hazzard to be put in *Practice*; especially 'tis dangerous to try Tricks with Politick Constitutions. Great alterations are scarce safe, even where they are *Lawful*, and wrought with *good Intention*: Much less are those so, which are promoted by a Disorderly, and Popular Earnestness, and with *seditions meaning*. For this I dare lay down as a *Position*: *Never did any Private Party band against a Publick Settlement, with an intent to mend it.*

But what have we to do with the Imaginary Coalition of the two Church-Parties; when the Kirk-Discipline affronts the Civil Sanction, and Actually invades the Kings Authority? Let them first bring their Principles to their Duties, Treating like Subjects, and Submitting as Christians. Can any man believe those People Friends to the Church, that are Enemies to the State: or that the God of Order can be pleased with

the Promoters of Confusion ?

Were there no other reason to deny the thing they ask, than their bare manner of Asking ; it ought not to be Granted. What signifies their talk of *Number*, *Power*, *Resolution*, but a false Muster of the Faction, to make a party with the Rabble ? when yet, God knows, they're Inconsiderable : let every man but over-look his Neighbour, and Count, he'll find the Disproportion. Undoubtedly the most Insufferable of all their Arguments is that of *Danger* ; there's but one step between that Word and Violence. First, it implies a Seditious Complication. They move for such as they believe will Tumult : if not, where lies the Hazzard ? Besides, those Subjects that dare tell their Prince, 'tis dangerous to deny their Askings, do by that violence render his Concessions much more hazardous. Persons of that audacious temper, will hardly make a sober use of an extorted Bounty.

So far as Presbyterian, and Episcopal, purely refer to the Church, I shall not much concern my self in Our Resolvers *Second main Enquiry*: (Equal to all the World is the Incomparable Hooker, upon that Subject) but where these terms are in a greater Latitude, applied to Civil matters, I shall be bold to pass some further Observations.

Page 70. *The Dissenting side oppose not all Liturgy, but desire that the present o.r.m. may be changed, or reformed.*

That's

That's but a modest Motion. But now suppose his *Majesty*, the *Law*, and Forty for *on*. *Observation*. One of the *Nation*, should desire the Continuance of it as it is: what Equity have the Dissenters to the Change; or what would be the Benefit if Granted? Not the Tenth part even of the Presbyterians, would be contented with it. Some of them are against all *Forms* of Common-prayer whatever; Others (more moderate forsooth) do not oppose a *prescript Form*, so it be not *enjoyn'd*. A third sort, will vouchsafe to permit the *English Liturgy*, provided they may have the purging of it themselves. And when all's done, the Sectaries may claim as much right to *abolish* That, as they to *alter* This. And now for Ceremonies.

They oppose not any Circumstance of Decency and Order, but desire, that mystical Ceremonies of humane Institution, may be abolished or not enjoyed. Page 70.

First, the Dissenters are not the Judges of Decency and Order; and for Mystical Ceremonies of humane Institution; (as Scaliger says of the *Sepia*) *Caliginem effundit, & evadit*; He troubles the Water, and escapes in the Dark. *Observation*.

Multiformity in Religion (says our Reconciler, pleading for Accommodation) *publickly profess'd, doth not well comport with the spirit of this Nation, which is free, eager, jealous,*

apt to animosities and jealousies, besides that it hath ever had a strong propension to Uniformity.

Observation.

Had this fallen from a Common pen, I could have better born the Disproportion of his Character of the English Temper, — *Free, Eager, Jealous*, and yet propense to *Uniformity*. This seems to me a mixture impossible. But the good man means well, and writes so, when he lists. His drift is, to persuade us, that to comply with the *Presbytery*, is to comport with the *spirit of this Nation*: which being *Free and Eager*, seems to Cry, *Beware*. How blessedly would these *Free-spirited* Worthies order their Subjects, if they were once in power, that thus presume from their own Level; to Menace and Control Authority.

Page 47.

If *Toleration* might compose the Difference, there were some hope; but That, alas, is more than they can afford the *Government*, and much less will they accept it for *themselves*. *The temper of this Kingdom* (says he) *does not well accord with extremes on either hand;*] and to see the fortune of it, the *Presbyterians* are just in the *Middle*.

Ibid.

Toleration being not the *Daughter of Amity*, but of *Enmity*, (at least) in some degree supposeth the party tolerated to be a burden, especially if conceived dangerous to the way established, and commonly holds no longer than meer necessity compels; and consequently neither

ther party take themselves to be safe, the one always fearing to lose its Authority, and the other its Liberty.

Behold a learned Expostulation, and a dutiful. *[Where the party tolerated appears dangerous to the way established: the one fears to lose its Authority, and the other its Liberty.]* There's no great depth in the discovery, that from an Opinion of *mutual Danger*, arises *mutual Jealousie*. But what's this case to the Subject of our Debate?

Observation.

By Toleration is not meant an Imprudential Yielding to an Untractable, and Churchish Faction: but a discreet and pious Application of Tenderness toward such as by their Fair Comportment in the Main of Order, and good Manners, appear to merit it. True it is, God himself is the onely Searcher of Hearts, who sees our Thoughts, even in the bed of their Conception. Yet where we find an inconformity of practise to profession: people that *strain at a Gnat, and swallow a Camel*, We may without offence to Charity, rank those incongruous Christians amongst *Hypocrites*: and with great Justice hold them to the Law, that strive to bring the Law down to their humors. By the same rule ought we to judge in favour of their Scruples, whose Lives are squar'd by a conform severity and strictness.

Toleration.

It is most true, that *such Proposals may suffice for Peace, which will not satisfy Humor and Faction, and Carnal Interest.*] Why do we not

Page 76.

not apply our selves then to the onely Umpire of the Controversie, the settled Law, which without either passion or Design, lays down our Duty, and our Interests? These wranglings about Trifles do but enflame the Difference, and start new Animosities, instead of quieting the Old. The great pretence of Scandal (forsooth) is This.

Page 84.

The Presbyterians stick at Ceremonies properly Sacred, and significant by humane institution, which they conceive to be more than meer Circumstances, even parts of Worship; and whatsoever instituted Worship is not ordained of God, they hold unlawful.

Observation.

This passage lies a little out of my Rode, but however, I'll make it my way. It is much easier to call our Ceremonies *Sacred*, and *parts of Worship*, than to prove them such; or that we understand them so. Is the manner of doing any thing, part of the thing done? And for *significant by humane Institution*] the Exception is as frivolous. Because that in some Cases even of External Discipline, the Church is limited, does it therefore follow that it is free in none? or ty'd up onely to such Rites and Ceremonies, as hold no signal proportion with the reason of their Institution? This Argument cuts their own Throats, since by the signification of the *Sitting posture* at the Communion, they maintain the Use of it; for (say their Admonitioners) *It BETOKENS Rest, and full Accomplishment of Legal Ceremonies in Christ.*
They

They that scruple our mystical significant Page 86.
Ceremonies, conceive that they are properly and
meerly sacred, as having the honor of God for
their direct and immediate end.

These Reasons are but *Snares* for *Woodcocks*. *Observ.*
That the ultimate end of all our Actions is, *Significant*
or at least ought to be) *the Honor of God*, ad- *Ceremo-*
mits no Question; but 'tis not therefore the *nies not*
Immediate end of every thing we do, nor in *sacred.*
particular of *Ceremonies*. The Outward Forms
and Rites of publick Worship, direct partly to
Uniformity and *Order*; and partly to excite
due *Reverence* and *Affection* in the discharge
of holy Duties, by sensible Actions, and re-
markable Circumstances. But he pursues his
Error; and Instances,

That the Surplice is not for gravity, nor Ibid.
meerly for decent distinction, but a religious
mystical Habit, the character or badge of a Sa-
cred Office, or Service conformable to the linnen
Ephod under the Law.

The grand Exception against the Surplice *Observa-*
is matter of Scandal, and that amounts to no- *tion.*
thing, where people will be peevish, and carp
at every thing. Allow it what Original he
pleases: If it be neither Unlawful in it self:
nor wickedly applyed; and by Authority
thought fit to be Imposed; why should it not
be used? What says the Incomparable *Hooker*, *Ecclesiast.*
in this point? [*To solemn Actions of Royalty*, *polit. lib.*
and 5. Sect. 29.

Ecclesiast.
polity lib.

and State, their suitable Ornaments are a Beauty; are they onely in Religion a stayn?] And in another Place.

4.Sc&.12.

* The Eunomian Hereticks in dishonor of the blessed Trinity, brought in the laying on of water but once, to crosse the custom of the Church which in Baptism did it thrice.

Page 87.

The names of our Months, and of our Days, we are not ignorant from whence they came, and with what dishonor unto God they are said to have been devised at the first. What could be spoken against any thing more effectual to stir hatred, then that which sometimes the ancient Fathers in this case spake? Yet those very names are at this day in use throughout Christendom, without hurt or scandal to any. Clear and manifest it is, that things devised by Hereticks, yea, devised of a very Heretical purpose, even against Religion, and at their first devising worthy to have been withstood, may in time grow meet to be kept; as that custome, the Inventers whereof were the * Eunomian Hereticks. So that Customs once established, and confirmed by use, being presently without harm, are not in regard of their Corrupt original, to be held scandalous. But concerning those Ceremonies, which they reckon for most Popish, they are not able to avouch, that any of them was otherwise instituted, than unto good; yea, so used at the first.]

The signing with the sign of the Cross (they conceive) is more evidently sacred than the former. As Baptism consecrates the child, so doth the Cross. It is used as a sealing sign of our Obligation to Christ, as the words used in the Application thereof do manifest, and the Book of Canons doth declare expressly, which saith,

saith, [That it is an honorable badge, whereby the Infant is dedicated to the service of him that died on the Cross, as by the words used in the Book of Common-prayer it may appear.] *And therefore it is in that respect Sacramental.*

'Tis a well nurtur'd child that gives his *Observati-*
Mother the Lye : and it is little better, to *on.*
charge this sense upon the Church of *England*,
when by the very letter of the Canon, an express care is taken to prevent all possibility of exception, by a clear explication of the Churches judgment in that particular. The Juggle is so gross, I need but cite the Canon to confute it.

First, The Church of England, since the Can. 30.
abolishing of Popery, hath ever held and taught,
and so doth hold and teach still, that the sign of
the Cross used in Baptism, is no part of the
substance of that Sacrament; for when the Mi-
nister dipping the Infant in water, or laying
water upon the face of it (as the manner also
is) hath pronounced these words, I Baptize thee
in the Name of the Father, and of the Son,
and of the holy Ghost, the Infant is fully and
perfectly Baptized. So as the sign of the Cross
being afterwards used, doth neither add any
thing to the vertue or perfection of Baptism; nor
being omitted doth detract any thing from the
effect and substance of it.

Secondly, It is apparent in the Communion
Book, that the Infant Baptized is by vertue of
Baptism, before it be signed with the sign of
the

the Cross, received into the Congregation of Christs Flock, as a perfect Member thereof, and not by any power ascribed unto the sign of the Cross; so that for the very remembrance of the Cross, which is very precious to all them that rightly believe in Jesus Christ, and in the other respect mentioned: The Church of England hath retained still the sign in Baptism, following therein the Primitive and Apostolical Churches, and accounting it a lawful outward Ceremony, and honorable Badge, whereby the Infant is dedicated to the service of him that died upon the Cross, as by the words used in the Book of Common-prayer it may appear.]

If this will not suffice to prove, that nothing Sacramental is intended by it, let it be noted, that in private Baptism the Cross is totally omitted.

Eccles. 10.
lib. 5.
Sect. 71.

His next exception is at Holy-days: But I shall pass my bounds too far. I'll borrow one Maxim of the judicious Hooker, (upon that subject) which shall serve for all. Those things which the Law of God leaveth Arbitrary, and at liberty, are all subject unto positive Laws of men: which Laws, for the common benefit, abridge particular mens libertie in such things, as far as the rules of equity will suffer.

After the Quality of our Ceremonies, the holy man will have one sting at the number of them.

used, what hinders the use of divers other Ceremonies used in the Roman Church? Is it said, their multitude will become burthensome and inconvenient? But who can determine the convenient number? And however, an exchange of one Ceremony for another were not unlawful. For what reason may not some other Romish Rites in Baptism be used as well as the Cross, seeing they are nothing less significant or inoffensive; nay, peradventure much more inoffensive, because the Popists by giving divine worship to the Cross, have abused it to gross Idolatry.

Beggars must be no choosers: Must we use all, or none? The English Church hath made election of the English Ceremonies; *what*, and *how many*: being the proper Judge both in the point of *Number* and *Convenience*. 'Tis not for us to Question the Authority, but to Obey it. *What if the Cross hath been abused?* So hath the *Knee* been bent; the *Hands* and *Eyes* addressed to an Idol. Are we, because of this mis-application, prohibited to worship the true God, in the same manner, and posture? Now to the *Liturgy* again.

The Presbyterians are not satisfied in the present Liturgy, but desire it may be laid aside, or much reformed. And what solid reason withstands the Equity of this desire?

This solid reason does withstand it. They beg like sturdy Cripples, for Christ's sake, with a Cudgel.

Cudgel. And 'tis not safe for *Authority* to give ground to a *Faction*.

Page 91.

Whosoever observes impartially, shall find, that political prudence was joyn'd with Christian Piety, in composing the English Service-Book.]

observa-
tion.

And the same *Prudence* is now joyn'd with the same *Piety*, both in the Right, and Interest of preserving it. His next grief is a heavy one.

Page 94.

Canonical Subscription lately impos'd, is a yoke of bondage, (Now mark him) to be considered by all those that have a true regard to such Liberty in Religion, as Equity and Necessity pleads for.

observati-
on.

Either this passage is *seditionous*, and to enflame the people against *Authority*, or I am no *Englishman*.

Page 95.

The Canon (says he) requires a subscribing to the thirty nine Articles; to the Common-Prayer-Book; to the Book of ordering Bishops, Priests, and Deacons; that all these contain in them nothing contrary to the Word of God. This is unreasonable, unprofitable, and unnecessary.

Can. 36.

Nay, let us take in the third Article too, ——— To wit, [That the nine and thirty Articles are agreeable to the Word of God.] And now the form of *Subscription*, viz. [I do willingly, and ex animo, subscribe to these three Articles]

The Holy Cheat.

83

Articles above mentioned, and to all things that are contained in them.

This is the *Yoke of Bondage*, which our Reverend Libertine complains of. First, to the *unreasonableness* of this subscription. Observe.

Touching the *King's Supremacy*, asserted in the first Article, he is silent; and I suppose he would be thought consenting. As to the rest, what *Reason* is there that any man should be admitted into the *Ministry*, without subscribing to the Constitution of that Church, into which he seeks admittance?

If he cannot subscribe in *Conscience*, he cannot be admitted in *Prudence*: and if he refuses in point of stomach, that man is not of a Gospel-temper. In fine, he that holds a fair opinion of the *Doctrine*, and *Discipline* of the Church of *England*, may very reasonably set his hand to his opinion: and he that does not, may as reasonably be rejected because of such disagreement. So much for *unreasonable*; Neither is it *unprofitable*: for such as have any spark, either of Honor, or Shame, will in regard to such a Testimony, be tender of giving themselves the Lye, whatever they would do otherwise. canonical subscription defended.

His third Caviel is, that it is *unnecessary*; (so are his Exceptions.) Let any man consider; when all these Bars and Limits are too little to restrain turbulent and sacrilegious spirits from dangerous and irreverent attempts: what Seas of *Schism* and *Heresy* would break in upon us, were but these Banks

Page 97. demolish'd. But he hath found out an expedient, how [*Unity in Doctrine, and Uniformity in practise, may be as well attain'd; and far more kindly, without this enforced Subscription: (that is) If no Minister be suffered to Preach, or Write, any thing contrary to the establish'd Doctrine, Worship, or Discipline, nor ordinarily for the main to neglect the establish'd Rule.*]

Observation.

This last passage appears to me most spitefully pleasant. Not ordinarily for the main, that is; *Always sometimes he would neglect the establish'd Rule.*

If the Laws already in force against *Revolters*, had been duly executed, 'tis likely the *Interest of England, in the matter of Religion*, had not been now the Question. But still this supposition does not imply an absolute sufficiency of that strictness to all intents and purposes of Order and Agreement. 'Tis what we *Think*; not what we *Say*; the harmony of *Souls*, more then of *Forms*, which God regards: without that sacred, and entire consent of Judgment, and Affections, the rest is but a flat, and cold formality.

Not to act contrary to prescribed Rules, (where we are bound up by a Penalty) is but a Negative and Passive Obedience; a compliance rather with Convenience, than Duty, unless joyn'd with a prone, and full assent,
both

both to the truth and equity of those determinations, For these and many reasons more, Canonical subscription seems to me exceeding necessary. But for those people to decline it, (upon pretence forsooth of Conscience) that upon pain of Freedom, and Estates, nay, and of Hell it self, enforced the Covenant, is most unequal.

A Presbyterian Preacher, refused to pray for Sir William Nesbett, late Provost of Edinburgh, when he was lying upon his Death-bed, onely because he had not subscribed the Covenant. Scotland, Let me be pardoned, if I understand not this incongruous Holiness.

*The late Kings Declaration concerning Scotland, Page 403.

As for the Decrees and Canons of the Church, Page 101. what rightfull Authority doth make them, as the Law of the Medes and Persians that altereth not?

Surely his Reverence over-shoots himself. *Observation* What rightfull Authority? The Kings: and by a less Authority they cannot be discharged. By that Authority, that Licenses (x) the Ex- x] can. 6. communication of the Impugners of the Rites and Ceremonies established in the Church of England: — the Opposers also of the (y) Government, by Arch-bishops, Bishops, y] can. 7. &c. — By that Authority, to which this Gentleman hath forfeited the Head he wears. Well, but he tells us,

The publick state of these differences is such, Page 92. that the Prelatists may, and ought to descend

to the Presbyterians, in the proposed moderate way; but the Presbyterians cannot come up to the Prelatists in the height of their way.

Observation.

With the King's leave, had been good Manners yet. By what Authority, does Presbytery pretend to unseat the Hierarchy? All the world knows, (as much as they know any thing of that Antiquity) that Bishops are of Apostolical Extraction: and we are not to Imagine, that They died intestate, and their Commission with them. But Bishops have descended already, and what was the event of it? Truly it was as moderate an Episcopacy as heart could wish: But, as I remember, their Revenues were not employed to maintain a practical Ministry. The Rule is, *vis fieri an velim, effice ut possim nolle*. But see the moderation of the Man.

Page 103. Some change (he says) in the outward Form, and Ceremonies, which are but a Garb, or Dress, is no Real Change of the Worship.

Observation.

*Pa. 84.

I thought we had differ'd upon point of Conscience, about [Ceremonies properly sacred, — and parts of Worship.] But now it seems 'tis but the Garb, or Dress we stick at. The good-man has forgot himself; And yet we had best be wary, for 'tis but an untoward hint he gives us.

Page 103. Oftentimes (says he) moderate Reformations do prevent Abolitions, and Extirpations.]

They

They do so; often, and sometimes they *Observati-*
 cause them: that is, Be the State never so *on.*
 distemper'd, where Subjects turn Reformers,
 the Remedy is worse than the Disease. In fine,
 when I look back, I find the very same de-
 sires of Reformation originally pretended;
 which (after such descensions as never any
 Prince before the blessed Father of our Gra-
 cious Sovereign, made to his Subjects) pro-
 ceeded yet to utter extirpation, Root and
 Branch.

The present face of things looks so like
 Twenty years ago, I cannot choose but fear
 the same Design from the same Method; the
 same Effects from the same Causes. *Is not that*
likely to be a blessed Reformation, where Faction
dictates, and Tumults execute? But our Paci-
 fick Moderator is of another Temper sure; he
 only advises a Yielding, for fear of worse:
 especially considering,

That the Party called Presbyterian may Page III.
be Protected, and Encouraged, and the
Episcopal not Deserted nor Disoblig'd.
which is his Resolution upon the Second
Query

Presbyterian Improvements are common- *Observa-*
 ly a little Simister; (or, as a man may say, *tion.*
the left shoulder) They have something an
 odd way of making a glorious King, and a
 happy

happy People. But we shall not dispute the possibility of doing many things which may be yet of dangerous Experiment. I do believe it possible for a man to *flie*; yet set him upon *Pauls*, and Lure him down, upon the Trial, 'tis at least Six to Four he breaks his Neck. Truly in my Opinion, this Proposal is all out as Impracticable. But 'tis all one to *Me*. What if the Two Church-parties, can Agree, or what if they Cannot? My business is to keep the Presbyterian from laying Violent hands upon the Civil Power, and to convince a Party so denominated, of *Sedition*, not of *Schism*.

His third Enquiry follows.

Page III. Qu. III. whether the upholding of both Parties by a just and equal Accommodation, be not in it self more desirable, and more agreeable to the State of England, than the absolute exalting of one Party, and the total subversion of the other? (And thus he Reasons.

That State of Prelacy which cannot stand without the subversion of the Presbyterians, and that stands in opposition to regulated Episcopacy, will become a mystery of a meer carnal and worldly state, under a sacred title, and venerable name of our mother the Church. For in such opposition, of what will it be made up, but of
Lordly

Lordly revenue, dignity, splendor, and jurisdiction, with outward ease and pleasure! What will its design be from age to age, but to uphold and advance his own pomp and potency? Read the Ecclesiastical Histories, and you shall find the great business of the Hierarchy hath been to contest with Princes and Nobles, and all ranks and degrees, about their Immunities, Privileges, preeminences, to multiply Constitutions and Ceremonies for props to their own Greatness, but not to promote the spiritual Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ in the hearts of People, according to the life and power of Christianity.

Let this serve for a taste of his Pedantique Observatibolness. Whether the Scandal, or the Danger on of these Liberties is the Greater, may be One Question: and whether the Usurper of this Freedom is the better Subject, or Christian, may be another. If we respect the holy Order of Bishops, together with the sacred Authority of Law, by which they are here established, how scandalous and irreverend is this Invetive! Or if the unsettled humor of the People, how Dangerous! If we reflect either upon Christianity, or Political Obedience: how inconsistent is this manner of proceeding, with what we owe to God, and the King! That State of Prelacy, which cannot stand without the subversion of the Presbyterians, &c. — Tis very well; — And why the subversion of the Presbyterians? How those that never were Up, should be thrown down, I cannot imagine. By what Law, or by what Equity,

A voluntary
Conscience.

Equity, do these people pretend to any Interest of Establishment in *England*? Those of the Presbyterian judgment, that out of a real tenderness cannot comply in all particulars, will beyond doubt receive from his Majesty such Favour and Indulgence, as may abundantly suffice to their relief. But that pretence doth not one jot entitle them to challenge a further influence upon the Government. These wayward Appetites and Cravings, are but the sickly longings of a peevish Woman: A kind of voluntary and privileged Conscience they have, which if it happens to take a fancy even to the *Crown*, *Monarchy* it self must rather perish; than these poor Wretches lose their longings. Soberly I would advise them by any means, to waive these troublesome and groundless pretences. It starts a scurvy Question, and makes men ask, *how these people came by the right they challenge*? For the rest; Episcopacy is like to be well ordered; when the Presbyterians have the Regulation of it.

There have been great contests (no question) mov'd by the *Hierarchy*; but I suppose this Gentleman will not instance in many, since the Reformation; derogatory to the Jurisdiction Royal: Whereas the whole course of the Presbyterian Discipline hath been Tumultuous; and their avowed Principles are more destructive to Royalty, than even the Rankett of the Jesuites themselves.

Having at length Talk'd his Fill against the Pomp of *Prelacy*; and Charg'd the arrogance

gance of Presbyters upon the Bishops: Thus he Concludes,

In very deed, the State here described, will Pa. 114. never stand safely among a people that are Free, Serious, Searching, and Discerning in matters of Religion.] Which to the Many, sounds thus much.

This is the pride and Tyranny of Bishops: Obser. and none but a Slavish and Besotted people will endure it. He that makes other of it, forces it. Having by the spirit of natural Divination foretold the Effects which he himself intends to Cause, he gives this Hint to the Vulgar, that [a Hierarchy of this Nature hath a strong bias toward Popery.] Ibid.

No doubt, and so had Monarchy. Was not this Imputation, by the same Party, cast upon the late King, and with the same measure of Confidence and Bitterness? when yet we know, that those that charged him with it, did not believe themselves, it was so rank, and evident a Calumny. Nor to insist upon the Dying Testimony of that Incomparable Prince; (which was but suitable to the Pious Practice and Profession of his whole Life) That early Protestation of his Majesties, before his receiving of the holy Eucharist at Christ Church in Oxon, 1643. will be more pertinent to my purpose.

His Majesty being to receive the Sacrament from the hands of the Lord Arch-bishop of Armagh, p. 58. Bibliothe. ca Regia,

Armagh, used these publick Expressions immediately before his receiving the blessed Elements, he rose up from his Knees, and beckning to the Arch-bishop for a short forbearance, made this Protestation.

My Lord,

His Majesty's Protestation.

I Espy here many resolved Protestants, who may declare to the world the Resolution I now do make. I have to the utmost of my power prepared my Soul to become a worthy Receiver; and may I so receive Comfort by the Blessed Sacrament, as I do intend the Establishment of the true reformed Protestant Religion, as it stood in its Beauty in the happy days of Queen Elizabeth, without any Connivence at Popery. I bless God, that in the midst of these publick Distractions, I have still Liberty to Communicate; and may this Sacrament be my Damnation, if my Heart do not joyn with My Lips in this Protestation.

This was not yet enough to allay the clamour, till with his Royal Blood he had seal'd this Protestation.

If the Objector can produce a fouler Injury, either to Religion, Duty, Truth, Honor, or Humanity, let it be done, to save the credit of the Faction, unless they reckon the Superlative

lative perfection of their wickedness, a point of Glory.

His next remark is not amiss. [*Let it be well observ'd, that the designs of suppressing Puritans, and complying with Papists, had their beginning both at once, and proceeded in equal paces.*] page 115.

Let it be here as well observ'd, that if by *Puritans* be meant those of the Separation, by *Papists* is intended such as kept their Stations: These Squires of the *Revolt*, esteeming as Anti-christian, whatever stands in opposition to their heady purposes. We have this both from Story and Experience, that it hath been the constant practise of these unmannerly *Apostates*, to speak evil of Dignities; & being fall'n off themselves, it is but carnal prudence, by damning of the *Authority* to justify the *Schism*. No wonder then, if the designs of suppressing Puritans, and complying with Papists, had (in his sense) the same beginning, and proceeded in equal paces.

To bring himself off, he shifts it thus. [*According to a vulgar sense, we take Popery in the height thereof, for the Heresies and Idolatries; and in the lower degree thereof, for the gross Errors and Superstitions of the Church of Rome.*] Page 116.
And 'tis against English Popery in the lower degree, that he plants his battery: arguing so formally against our going over to *Rome*, that any Stranger to the Story would swear, --- The *Protestants* and the *Pope* were more than half agreed already.

Having

Pag. 120. Having at length with great good-will advised the Church of England as to the Main, he concludes, that [*All approaches and motions towards Rome are dangerous.*]

Observation.

But are not all recesses from Truth, more dangerous: Because in *every* thing we cannot agree with them, must we in *nothing*? To me this appears rather petulancy, than pious reason. We are to hold fast the Truth, wherever it lyes: and to embrace what's good, and laudable in any Church, without adhering to the contrary. Did not St. Paul become all things to all men, that by all means he might gain some?

Pag. 120.

But if we walk upon the Brink (he tells us) we may soon fall into the Pit. These wary men forget, that there's a Gulf on the one hand, as well as a Pit on the other: and that the narrow way is that which leads to eternal happiness.

Ibid.

But as to Reason of State (he says that) enmity with Rome, hath been reputed the Stability of England: concerning which the Duke of Rhoan hath delivered this Maxime; [*That besides the Interest which the King of England hath common with all Princes, he hath yet one particular, which is, that he ought thoroughly to acquire the advancement of the Protestant Religion, even with as much Zeal as the King of Spain appears Protector of the Catholick.*]

Allow

Allow this Maxime good in State, he hath
 but found a Rod to whip himself. *The King*
of England ought to advance the *Protestant*
Religion.] Content. What now if these
Disciplinarians prove no *Protestants*; but ra-
 ther a *Schismatical*, and dividing Party, dri-
 ving an Interest of their own, under that spe-
 cious name, and with great shew of Holiness,
 opposing not only the practises and Rules of
 the *Reformed Churches*, but even the funda-
 mentals of *Christianity* itself? By whom will
 they be tryed, or on what Judgement, and
 Authority will they rest? They quarrel with
 the *Order of Bishops*; the *Common-Prayer*; the
Rites and Ceremonies of the *Church*; the *Law*
 of the *Land*, with *Customes*, and *Antiquity*:
 In short, with every thing but the *Geneva*
Discipline. They do by *That* too, as our *Gal-*
lants do by *French-fashions*. The *Court of*
France being the *Standard of quaint Mode*
and Dress, to the one, as is *Geneva* of *Church*
order to the other: What is *there* used, though
 in it self extravagant enough, our humour is to
 over-do; and if the *French* wear but wide
Breeches, we forsooth must wear *Petticoats*.
 Consult the learned and most eminent Asser-
 tors of their *Discipline*; ask the grand Archi-
 tect himself, or indeed, any of his *Sectators*,
 (of fair and honourable credit) concerning
 the Subject of our present Controversie. And

Observa-
 tion.
 English &
 Scotch
 Presbyte-
 rians no
 Prote-
 stants.

I. Whether it be a Protestant opinion,
 that the Hierarchy is Antichristian?

II. Whe-

II. *Whether such Laws of Humane Institution, as neither contradict the general Laws of Nature, nor any Positive Law in Scripture, be binding or not*

III. *In case of Male-Administration, either in Church, or State: Whether the People may take upon them to Reform?*

But this they are not so stiff in, as to maintain it; but by blind inferences not worth regard.

This is the State of our dispute; and if in these particulars our *Anti-prelatists* oppose the current of Reformed Divines: to advance their Interest, is to undermine the common Interest of the *King, Nation, and the Protestant Cause*. Needs must it move many *Revolts*, and keep off many *Profelytes*, to see such principles declared of the Essence of *Christian Religion*, as a good honest *Pagan* would be ashamed of. Nor less repugnant are they to Rules of *Society*, than of *Conscience*; *No Tyranny so cruel and Imperious; no Slavery so reprochful*. Set up their *Discipline*, and we're at *School* again. Methinks I see a *Presbyter* with his *Rod* over every *Parish*; and the whole *Nation* turning up their *Tails* to a pack of *Pedants*. Yet hateful as it is, even that itself, establish'd by *Authority*, might challenge our *Obedience*.

I have digress'd too far; yet in convenient place, I must say something further upon this Subject.

If our new fangled *Polititian* had consider'd, that the *Kings* Interest leads him to support, that which the *Presbyterians* strive to overthrow, (the Protestant Religion) I am perswaded he would have spared the Duke of *Rohan* in this particular. The *Maxime* even as it lies before us, affording matter of dangerous Deduction to his disadvantage: but taken in *Cohereence*, nothing can be more sharp and positive against him.

That great and wise Captain the Duke of *Rohan*, discoursing upon what reasons of State, *Q. Elizabeth* acted toward *Spain*, *France*, and the United *Provinces*; tells us particularly, how much she favoured the *Protestants* in *France*, & *Germany*. [*Par toutes ces maximes*, (dit il) cette sage Princeesse a bien fait comprendre, a ses successeurs, que outre l'interest que l'Angle-

L' Interest des Princes Discours. 7.

terre a commun avec tous les Princes, &c. — By all these *Maximes* (says he) this wise Princeess hath given her Successors to understand, that besides the Interest which *England* hath common with other Princes, yet one particular it hath, which is to advance the Protestant Religion with the same zeal, the King of *Spain* does the Catholick.

Be it here noted, that when the Queen was most concern'd, and busie to promote the Protestant Cause, even at that very time was She as much employ'd to crush the *Presbyterian* Faction, viz. *Cartwright*, *Coppinger*, *Arthington*, *Hacker*, and their Confederates. The First of these was imprison'd, and fined for Seditious and Schismatical practises against

Puritan-Protestants.

the Church and State. The *Second* starved himself in a Gaol; The *Third* repented, and publicly recanted: The *Fourth* was put to Death for horrid Blasphemies. (These people talk'd of a practical Ministry too, --- (The *Men* are gone, but their positions are still in being, and only attend a blessed opportunity to be put in execution. This may appear from divers late discourses, which are effectually no other then *Cartwrights Principles*, and *Model*, couch'd in warier terms, and other Authority than these, or such as these, I think the very Authors of them will scarce pretend to.

One Observation more. Our *Paraphrast* renders the advancement of the Protestant Religion, — Enmity with Rome, to the great scandal of the Reform'd Profession. We have no Enmity but with Error, which in a rigid Puritan, to us, is the same thing as in a Papist.

But Popery (he tells us) hath been ever infamous for excommunicating, murdering, and deposing Princes.

Observation.

I am no advocate for the Roman Cause, but upon this account, I think betwixt the Jesuite, and the Puritan, it may be a drawn Battel. And yet he follows, with an assurance that the Protestant Religion aims at nothing, but that the Kings Prerogative, and popular Liberty, may be even Ballanced. (That is, the Puritan, — the Presbyterian Religion, as he explains himself a little lower.

Observation.

I cannot call to mind one single passage in this

this whole Discourse, concerning the *Kings Power*, or the *Peoples Liberty*; which is not either worded Doubtfully or with some popular Limitation upon the Royal Authority. What does he mean by *even Ballancing? Check by Soul?* Or by what Warrant from the word of God, does a Presbyters Religion intermeddle with Popular Liberty? Unless the holy man intends to bring *Homage to Kings*, within the compass of *Ceremonies of Humane*, and *Mystical Institution*. Yet once again.

The Presbyterian Principle (he sayes) is for subjection to Princes, though they were Hereticks, or Infidels; and if they differ herein from the Prelatical Protestant, (I was afraid we had been all Papists) it is only that they plead for Liberty, settled by known Laws, and fundamental Constitution.] Pag. 122.

Still *ad Populum*? these are the Incantations *Observation* which have bewitch'd this Nation. This Charm of *qualify'd Disloyalty*, and *Conditional Obedience*. Behold the very Soul of the Faction in these five lines; a fair profession first to his Majesty, and with the same breath a seditious hint to the People. What is that Liberty he talks of, but a more colourable title to a Tumult? That Legal Freedome, to which both by the Royal Bounty, and our own Birth-right, we stand entituled, we ought not to contest for with our Sovereign, and (God be pray'd) we need not. Now for another fit of kindness.

Page 403.

His Majesty our Native King, may govern as he pleases, without fear of Hazards, by continuing to shew himself a Common Father.

Observation.

What's this cause a kin to the third Article of the Covenant? *To preserve and defend the Kings Majesties person and Authority, in the preservation and defence of the true religion, and Liberties of the Kingdoms,* (as who should say, if, he does otherwise, let him look to himself.

Ibid.

The excessive Dominion of the Hierarchy, with the rigorous imposition of humane Ceremonies was accounted much of the malady of former times, which ended in those deadly Convulsions of Church and State.

Observation.

Since this pragmatial Levite will provoke a Controversie, I am content to entertain it.

If the Bishops excesses were the Cause of War, how came the Kings ruine to be the effect of it? But 'tis no new thing for a Presbyterian to saddle the wrong Horse. Just in this manner did the Covenanters treat his late Majesty: and by those very Troops that cryed down Bishops was the King murder'd. Ridiculous Brutes, to boggle at a Surplice, and yet run headlong into a Rebellion.

The grand source of our Miseries was the *Covenant*, by which, as by a Spell (in the Name

Name of the blessed Trinity) the people were insensibly bewitched into an aptness to work any wickedness which the Interpreters of that Oracle should say was the Intendment of it.

The first notorious Rupture was in *Scotland*, in 1637. attended with a COVENANT, which without Question was formerly agreed upon by the confederate Faction of both Kingdoms, as the most proper and least hazardous way of tasting the Kings patience, and the Peoples humours. That their design was laid and carried on by Counsels, and Intelligence as aforesaid, may be collected from the Consequent, and brotherly Agreements: and truly the Retrospect of the Act of *Indemnity* seems to hint no lesse, for it commences from the first Scottish Broyles, tho' four or five years before the War brake out in *England*; what was begun by *Covenant*, was so prosecuted.

By virtue of the Covenant the Kirk-party supply'd themselves with Men and Monies: Armes were brought into the Field; and beyond doubt, many that truly loved the King, not knowing what they did, engaged against him. To keep up this delusion, the Press and Pulpit did their parts, and to deal freely after this advance, I should as much have wondred if they had stop'd short of his death, as I find others wondering how they durst accomplish it. Death with a *Bullet* or an *Axe*, is the same *Mischief* to him that suffers it: and the same *Crime*, wilfully done, in those that Act it. No man can rationally allow one, and condemn

the other : For if the Violence be Lawful ; why not as well in the Field , as upon a Scaffold ?

In this particular, the Doctor is beside his Cushion. He makes me think of the Marquis of Newcastle, upon a lawcy Clergyman. Why should I remember that he's a Priest (says my Lord) if he forgets it himself? His next argument against *Prelacy* is a Modest, and (as I take it ,) a quaint One.

page 124.

Can the self same State (sayes he) and Frame of Ecclesiasticks be now revived after so great and long continued alterations , by which the Anti-prelati- cal party is exceedingly increased and strengthened ?

Observation.

Surely this Gentleman has a mind to give his Brother *Crofton* a visit. Cannot *Prelacy* be better restored after a *Discontinuance*, then *Presbytery* erected, where it never had a Being? The very Laws are yet to make , for the One, and still in force for the Other. But the great Obstacle is, *the Anti-prelati- cal party is exceedingly increased, and strengthened.* Truly I think, if his Majesty should lessen the Number of them, by two or three of the Promoters of that Doctrine, the Precedent might do some good upon the rest. Can any thing be more seditious? These hints upon fair grounds and given in private, might very well become the gravity of a Churchman, or the profession of a Loyal Subject. But to the People, these Calculations are Dictates of Sedition ; and only

only meant to engage the credulous and heady multitude in false opinions both of the Tyranny of Prelates, and their own Power.

Thus far in *Observation* upon the first Part of *The Interest of England, in the matter of Religion, &c.*—The whole Structure whereof (in his own words) rests upon these Positions, as its adequate foundation.

1. That whilst the two forenamed Parties remain divided, both the Protestant Religion, and the Kingdome of England is divided against it self.
2. That the Presbyterians cannot be rooted out, nor their Interest swallowed up, whilst the State of England remaineth Protestant.
3. That their subversion if it be possible to be accomplished, will be very pernicious to the Protestant Religion, and the Kingdome of England.
4. That the Coalition of both Parties into one may be effected by an equal accommodation, without repugnancy to their conscientious Principles on either side, in so much that nothing justifiable by Religion or sound Reason can put a Bar to this desirable Union.

The whole matter (in Debate he tells us) rests upon three main Enquiries.

Page 17.
part. 1.

I. Qu. Whether in Justice or Reason of State the Presbyterian Party should be Rejected and Depressed, or Protected and Encouraged.

II. Qu. Whether the Presbyterian Party may be protected and encouraged, and the Episcopal not Deserted nor Dis-obliged.

III. Qu. Whether the Upholding of both parties by a just and equal accommodation be not in it self more desirable and more agreeable to the State of England, than the absolute exalting of the one party, and the total subversion of the other.

Observati-
on.

I shall now offer some further Reasonings of my Own: upon this Subject; therein proposing such Brevity and Clearness: that both the Lazy, and the Busy may find time to read it, and the Weakest not want Capacity to understand it.

His first Position holds no further good, than as the Presbyterians are first Protestants in the matter of the difference, and then Considerable in the ballance of the Nation. Religion led the Quarrel, so let it the Dispute. In using the word Protestant, I follow Custom, for

for I had rather call it *Catholick*: but *Protestant* let it be.

I suppose by the *Protestant Religion*, we understand That of the *Reformed Churches*: to whose Decision we shall willingly submit the sum of our Disagreements: which may be stated under a Reduction to these Two Questions.

I. *Qu. Whether or no the Government of the Church by Archbishops & Bishops — be Antichristian, or Unlawful?*

II. *Whether such Laws of Humane and Significant Institution, as are orderly made, and neither contradict the General Laws of Nature; nor any positive Law in Scripture, — be Binding or not?*

First, concerning the *Prelacy*: Luther Apol. Conf. himself distinguishes betwixt *Popish Tyrants*, and *True Bishops*: professing his Quarrel to them as *Popish* not as *Bishops*. sels: per Pap. Pag. 137.

The Authors of the *Augustane Confession*, leave it upon Record, That they would willingly preferre the *Ecclesiastical and Canonical Policy*, if the *Bishops* would cease to *Tyrannize* over their Churches. De re-form. ad-ver. Ec-cles. pag. 95.

Bucer advises by all means the restoring of such *Ecclesiastical Governments* as the *Canons* prescribe, (*Episcopis & Metropolitanis*) to Bishops

Bishops and Metropolitans. Melancthon to Luther, ——— You would not imagine (says he) how some people are nettled to see Church-polyty restored: as if it were the Romish Sovereignty again.] Ita de Regno suo, non de Evangelio, dimicant socii nostri.

Calvin himself recommends the Hierarchy to the King of Poland: and treating concerning the Primitive Church, says, That the Ancient Government by Arch-bishops and Bishops, and the Nicene constitution of Patriarchs, was for Orders sake, and good Government. [Ad Disciplinæ conservationem pertinebat.]

The same person being called to account by Cardinal Sadolez, concerning the Geneva defection, and for subscribing the Augustane Confession, renders this Answer. Cursed be such as oppose that Hierarchy, which submits it self to Christ Jesus. [Nullo non Anathemate dignos cenfeo, quotquot illi Hierarchie, qui se Domino Jesu submittit, subijci nolunt.]

Zanchi (the Compiler of the Gallican Confession) observes a Change of Name, rather than of Office, throughout most of the German Churches. Bishops and Arch-bishops being onely disguised under the notion of Super-intendents, and General-Superintendents: acknowledging, That by the consent of Histories, Counsels, and the ancient Fathers, those Orders have been generally Allow'd by all Christian Societies.

Beza, (the rigid Successor of Calvin) being check'd by the Arch-bishop of Canterbury,

bury, for intermeddling beyond his Spheare,
 — We do not charge (says he) all Arch-
 bishops and Bishops with Tyranny. — The
 Church of England hath afforded many learned
 Men, and many glorious Martyrs of that
 Function. If that Authority be there still in
 Being, may a perpetual Blessing go along with
 it. [Fruatur sane ista singulari Dei beneficentia,
 quæ utinam illi sit perpetua.] This with
 all Ceremony was addressed, — Totius
 Angliæ Primati: To the Primate of all Eng-
 land, and in the name of the whole Church of
 Geneva.

Saravia makes him speak yet plainer;
 who arguing for the Hierarchy out of the Apo-
 stles, Canons, receives from Beza this Re-
 ply. This is no more then what we wish might
 be restored to all Churches. [Quid aliud hic
 statuitur, quam quod in omnibus locis, Ecclesiis
 restitutum cupimus?]

Zanchi comes up to the very Case of Eng-
 land; (nay, and a little further too) not onely
 affirming Episcopacy to be agreeable to the
 Word of God: But where it is in exercise; that
 it ought to continue, and where by violence
 it hath been abolish'd, that it ought to be re-
 stored. [* Ubi vigent (Isti ordines scilicet) non
 esse Abolendos, & ubicunque Iniquitas tempo-
 rum eas abolevit Restituendos.]

With what Face now shall the Enemies of
 Bishops call themselves Protestants, in this par-
 ticular at least, wherein they evidently cross
 the whole stream of Protestant Divines? Now
 to the second *Quære*.

Whether

Whether such Laws of Humane, and significant Institution, as are orderly made, and neither contradict the general Laws of Nature, nor any positive Law in Scripture, be binding or not?

Calvin
Epist.

pag. 341.

Hear Calvin first, [*Quantum quod obtruditur scandalum affert, quia tamen verbo Dei per se non repugnat concedi potest.*] Scandals Taken, without repugnancy to the Word of God, are not sufficient to invalidate the obligation of a Ceremony imposed by the Church. Beza himself, nay, Mr. Cartwright, the Captain of our blessed Legions, will allow, rather than quit a Benefice, to wear a Surplice.

Script.

Anglican.

P. 455.

Bucer thanks God with all his soul to see the English Ceremonies pure, and conform to the Word of God, or at least, (rightly understood) not contrary to it.

H. L. S.

His affinity

of sacred

Liturgies.

pag. 37.

Not to hunt further for particular Authorities, I shall be bold with my own Brother, and make use of some general Collections which he hath gathered ready to my hand.

Nothing assuredly can be more demonstrative of the Protestant Tenets, than the Confession of their several Churches.

Cap. 27.

That of Helvetia first, [*Churches have always used their Liberty in Rites, as being things indifferent, which we also do at this day.*]

Cap. 15.

That of Bohemia; [*Humane Traditions and Ceremonies brought in by a good custom, are with an uniform consent to be retained in the*

Ecclesiastical

Ecclesiastical Assemblies of Christian People, at the common Service of God.] *The Gallican;* A^c. 32.
[Every place may have their peculiar constitutions, as it shall seem convenient for them.]
The Belgick; *[We receive those Laws as are]* A^c. 32.
fit, either to cherish or maintain concord, or to keep us in the obedience of God.] *That of Aus-* A^c. 15.
burg; *[Ecclesiastical Rites which are ordained by mans Authority, and tend to quietness and good order in the Church, are to be observed.]*
That of Saxony; *[For order sake, there must]* A^c. 20.
be some decent and seemly Ceremonies.] *That of Swethland;* *[Such Traditions of men as]* Cap. 14.
agree with the Scriptures, and were ordained for good manners, and the profit of men, are worthily to be accounted rather of God than of Man.] These were the Tenents they publicly owned, nor did they act different from what they taught, ordaining Churches, Pulpits, Prayers before and after Sermon, administering the Sacraments in Churches, delivering the Communion in the forenoon to Women, Baptizing Infants, and several other things, nor one whereof were directly commanded by either Christ, or his Apostles.

From hence 'tis manifest, we may divide from Presbyterians, and yet the Protestant Religion not be divided against it self.

A Schism there is, but whether in the Church, or in the Faction, is onely a dispute for those that plead the Authority of Tumults.

As their opinions are not one jot Protestant, where they divide from Bishops; so neither are their

their *Morals* any more warrantable, where-
 in they act as *Men*. Which shall we credit,
Words, or *Deeds*? Will they not *Bite*, where
 they pretend to *Kiss*? A famous *Martyr* of
 that Party, (*Hacket*) served a fellow so.
 Some difference there had been, and they were
 to be made friends. *Hacket* pretends a Re-
 concilement; takes the man in his Arms, bites
 off his Nose, and swallows it. This is that
Hacket that was joyn'd with *Coppinger*, and
Arribington, in a plot to murder the Lords in
 the *Star-chamber*, because they had com-
 mitted *Cartwright*, (the great *Rabbi* of the
 Party) whose Crime was onely the erecting of
 the *Presbytery* without, and against the *Queens*
Authority. Thus we see, *That in Queen Eli-*
zabeth's days too, the Protestant Religion was
divided against it self. Briefly, that it is not
Religion which moves these people, is most
 apparent, from their unquiet and distempered
 Actings. Proceed we now to enquire what it
 is, or in plain terms, to unmasque the *Holy*
Cheat, and shew it bare-fac'd to the people.

Of all Impressions, those of Religion are
 the deepest; and of all Errors, the most to
 be lamented and indulged, are those of tender
 and mis-guided Consciences. The cleanness
 of this Principle considered, it is no wonder
 that the foulest designs, put on the greatest
 shews of Holiness, as the onely way to gain
 and rule affections, without which, no great
 matters can be accomplish'd. This is a truth
 well known to the *Presbyterians*, and of ex-
 periment

periment as antient as their Discipline.

We do not undertake to read their *Hearts*, but their *Writings* we may venture upon; enquire a little into their *practises*, and by comparing both, give some tolerable guess at their *Intentions*. The readiest way is to look back, and match them; for the best prospect of the future is behind us.

Some grumblings toward the Consistorian discipline, there were in the days of *Edm. 6.* *The rise of Presbytery.* but the first notorious Separation was that of *Frankford*, (in the Reign of Queen *Mary*) when *Gilby*, *Goodman*, and *Whittingham*, with their Companions, flew off, and went to *Geneva*, from whence they returned into *England*, soon after Queen *Elizabeth* came to the Crown. These led the Dance in *England*; *Knox* in *Scotland*: and at this day our *Presbyterians* do but write after their Copy: professing the same *Principles*, pretending the same *Scruples*, and beyond doubt proposing the same *End*; which was to get the same Dominion here, which *Calvin* and *Beza* exercised at *Geneva*: to whom they still repair'd for Counsel as they needed.

Cartwright and *Travers* came in the breach of these, but not without consulting *Beza* first, to learn the Knack of the *Geneva Model*. These were the men that first brought into *England* that horrible Position, that the *Geneva Discipline* was as essential a Note of the Church, as either the true preaching of the Word, or the due Administration of the Sacraments. This is the Principle which supports the Presbyterian Interest.

For

The Pro-
cess of
Presbytery.

For the first thirteen years of the Queen's Reign, they contented themselves to throw about their Libels against Ceremonies, and divide into *Conventicles*.

In the fourteenth of her Majesty, they addressed two *Admonitions* to the *Parliament*; the former in the quality of a *Remonstrance*, with a Platform; the other, bolder, and more peremptory. This Parliament was no sooner Dissolved, but they fell presently to work upon their *Discipline*; the Progress whereof is with great exactness set down in the *Third Book of Bancroft's dangerous Positions*.

Dange-
rous Posi-
tions, pag.
43.

In 1572. a Presbytery was erected at Wandsworth in Surrey, at which time they had also their *Conventicles* in London, where little was debated, but against Subscription, the *Astire*, and *Book of Common-prayer*.

Dange-
rous Pos.
pag. 44.

In 82. A meeting was appointed of 60 *Ministers*, out of Essex, Cambridge-shire, and Norfolk; at Cockfield; to confer about the *Common-prayer*, ——— what might be tolerated.]

Dange-
rous Pos.
pag. 45.

In 83. The form of *Discipline* was compiled, and *Decrees* made touching the practise of it, which soon after were put in execution.]

Dange-
rous Pos.
pag. 74.
pag. 86.
pag. 89.

In 87. The *Discipline* was received, and put in practise in Northampton-shire.]

In 88. A *Classical Assembly* at Coventry.]

In 89. A general Meeting in Cambridge, and another at Ipswich.]

pag. 91.

In 1590. Upon the detection of the *Premises*, they refused to answer upon Oath.

Being

Being thus Associated, they appropriate to their Meetings the name of the Church, and use the style. Dangerous Pol. pag. 120.

The Offices of the Lord Arch-bishops, and Bishops, &c. (says *Martin Junior*) are condemn'd by the Doctrin of the Church of England. pag. 125.

By these degrees, the Schismatics advanced to a dangerous heighth, and Boldness; and of this temper and extraction are our Presbyterians.

After the aforementioned discovery, a stricter eye and hand was kept upon them; divers of the Ring-leaders were imprison'd, and the Covy broken.

Upon the coming in of King *James*, they began to stir again; but he knew them too well, either to Trust, or Suffer them.

How they behaved themselves towards the late King, is to the eternal Infamy; not onely of the Faction, but of the Nation, too notorious: What they design toward the present Government, That's the Question: And now I come to enquire.

Whether in Justice or Reason of State the Presbyterian Party should be Rejected and Depressed, or Protected and Encouraged.

Before I fall upon the Question, once again I explain my self. By **PRESBYTERIAN**, I intend a *Faction*, that under colour of
I settling

settling a Reform'd *DISCIPLINE*, seeks to dissolve the frame of an establish'd *Government*. And first, I am to prove that Party so distinguish'd; such a *Faction*, which both from their own *Practises*, *Positions*, and from Common Observation, and Authority, I think I shall make good; and that their last aim is to exercise that Tyranny themselves, which they pretend to punish.

We'll first examine how they treat the *Civil Power*.

Presbyters
Doctr. concern-
ing
Kings.

Knox to
Engl. and
Scotl. fol.

78. Gilby
Obedi-
ence, p.

25.
Register,
p. 48.

Good-
man, p.

144.
Spors-
woods Hi-

story of
the Chur.
of Scotl.

P. 330.
Scots Plea

p. 262.
Kings De-
claration

If Princes be Tyrants against God and his Truth, their Subjects are freed from their Oaths of Obedience.

Kings, Princes, and Governors, have their Authority of the People, and upon Occasion, the People may take it away again.

Ministers ought not to obey the Prince, when he prescribes Ceremonies, and a Fashion of Apparel.

Evil Princes ought by the Law of God to be deposed.

*Andrew Melvil being cited to answer for Treason delivered in a Sermon, declined the judgment of the King, affirming, That what was spoken in Pulpit, ought first to be tried and judged by the Presbytery; and that neither the King nor Counsel might in *prima instantia*, meddle therewith, although the speeches were Treasonable.]*

Strike the Basiliq vein; nothing but this will cure the Plurisie of our State.

Let us never give over, till we have the King

in our power, and then he shall see how good Subjects we are. (Delivered in a Sermon.)

It is lawful for Subjects to make a Covenant, and Combination without the King.

concern-
ing Scot-
land,
p. 404.
Ibid. p.
409.

But to come nearer Home, to shew that the whole Gang is of the same Leaven. Worse than all this was daily printed against the late King, even by those Persons that were in pay to the Presbyterian Faction: and yet at last, those outrages are justifi'd against the Father, by such as would be thought Loyal to the Son.

If Parliaments think to scape better, they are deceived.

If the Brethren cannot obtain their will by Bancroft, suit, nor dispute, the Multitude and People must do the Feat. p. 169.

One preached, That though there were never so many Acts of Parliament against the Covenant, yet it ought to be maintain'd against them all. King's declaration, 404.

The Parliament can make no Law at all concerning the Church, but onely ratifie what the Church decrees: and after it hath ratifi'd it, yet if the Assembly of the Church shall prohibite it, and repeal that Decree of the Church, all the Subjects are discharged from yielding obedience to that Act of Parliament. Ibid. 408.

An Assembly may abrogate Acts of Parliament, if they any way reflect upon business of the Church. Ibid. 411.

Knox.

Reformation of Religion belongs to the Commonalty.

Of the Parliament in the 24 year of the Queen, (says the Supplication) if the desired Reformation be not granted.] There shall not be a man of their seed that shall prosper, be a Parliament man, or bear Rule in England any more.

Concerning Laws established; They Fall in Consequence with the Power that makes them.

Presbyterians opinion of Bishops.

Let us see now with what modesty they treat the Church, and first the Bishops.

Bancroft
pag. 56.

They are Ordinances of the Devil, — Proud, Popish, presumptuous, prophane, paltry, pestilent, pernicious Prelates, and Usurpers, — Robbers, Wolves, Simoniacs, Persecutors, Sowers of Sedition, Dragons, (and so to the end of the Chapter.)

Ibid. p. 58.

Their Clergy, an Antichristian, Swinish Rabble, — The Ministers are neither Proved, Elected, Called, nor Ordained according to Gods Word.

The Ceremonies, — Carnal, Beggerly, Antichristian Pumps.

Presbyterian Reformation.

Hitherto, the Faults of Governors, and Government, now their Proposals of Amendment, and Reformation; by what Rules, and by what

what Means we may be Governed Better.
Thus then.

Let the whole Government of the Admon.
Church be committed to Ministers, El-
ders, and Deacons.

Very good, and to whom the Government
of the State?

Why to Them too. For the Church wherein
any Magistrate, King, or Emperor is a Mem- Carr-
ber, is divided into some that are to Govern: wright.
viz. Pastors, Doctors, and Elders: and into such
as are to obey, viz. Magistrates of all sorts, and
the People.

The Question is next, about the Extent of
the Ecclesiastical Power, and in what manner
that Assumption hooks in all Civil Actions
within their Cognisance?

In Ordine ad Spiritualia, Forsooth: by which Holy Dis-
cipline,
rule nothing scapes them.

'Tis the desire of the Admonitor: That he
and his Companions may be deliver'd by Act of
Parliament, from the Authority of the Civil
Magistrates: as Justices, and others, and from
their Inditings, and Finings.] pag. 260.

The Eldership shall suffer no leud customs to
remain in their Parishes, either Games, or other-
wise.] And further; The Office of the Church- Ibid. 284.
Governors, is to decide Controversies in Doctrine Ibid.
and Manners, so far as pertaineth to Conscience
and the Church-censures.]

Every Fault (says Cartwright) that tend- Ib. 285.

eth either to the Hurt of a man's neighbour, or to the hindrance of the glory of God, is to be examined and dealt in by the Orders of the holy Church.] Nay, Knox goes further yet.

The bare *Suspicion* of *Avarice*, or of *Pride*, *Superstition*, or *Riotousness* in *Chear* or *Rej-ment*.]— Even this Nicety falls within their Censure,

Now would I know what need of a *Civil Magistrate*, when even our private thoughts are subjected to the Scrutiny of a *Presbytery*?

But will some say, What signifies the intemperance of Particular tongues, as to the General of the Party? I am challenged by the Author of the *Interest of England*, to produce their *Actions*: and *That's* my next immediate Business.

The *Presbyter* has now the Chair, see how he manages his Greatness. None of that Tyranny ye found in *Bishops*, I warrant ye: no groaning now under the Yoke of *Antichrist*; the intolerable burthen of *canonical Subscription*; the *Imposition* of *Ceremonies*, properly sacred; the *Injunction* of the *Cross* in *Baptism*; and that abominable Idol, the *Common-Prayer*.

Inter. of
Engl. Part
2. p. 81.

Some words perhaps may slip unwarily, that might have been as well let alone; but alas good people, they mean no harm. Suppose that some of this way were guilty of some provoking forwardness, should grave Patriots, and wise counsellors thereupon destroy the weak Party, or rather heat it? 'Tis indeed possible, that

in

in the heat of a Reforming and Spiritual Zeal, they may have let fall Speeches of holy Indignation against the opposers of the * *LORD'S ORDINANCE*. But have they shewed their disaffection either to * *King or Parliament*, by any thing discernable in their outward behaviour: have they controlled the Law of the Land, or the just Liberty of the People?

* By which term they difference their classical Approbation, from Episcopal Ordination. * Inter. of Engl. Par. 2. p. 57.

If they have not done all this, there's a great failing both in our Stories, and our Memories. I know 'twill be objected, they *Petition'd*, and in a supplicant and humble way, suitable to the duty of good Subjects. They did *Retition*; and in this manner----- (about the. 27. of the *Queen*.)

May it please your Majesty, &c.----- That it may be Enacted, &c.----- That the Book hereunto annexed, &c. Intituled, *A Book of the Form of Common-Prayers, Administration of Sacraments, &c*----- And every thing therein contain'd, may be from henceforth authorized, put in ure, and practis'd throughout all Your Majesty's Dominions.

The Reformers way of Petitioning.

Herein they press upon the Nation their own Form, which would not yet allow of any Other.

What they could not get establish'd by Law, they settle yet by Practice, and privately agree upon a general endeavour to encrease the Party.] But say they should be opposed?

Holy Discipline, p. 100.

Why then, have a fling at Evil Counsellors. [If her Majesty give ear to such Counsellors, dangerous she may have cause one day to lament.]

Bancroft's Post. p. 53.

Ibid. p. 56. they Remonstrate, how miserably poor men have been handled;] That godly Ministers have been brought before the Bars of Justice;] and that if this Persecution be not provided for, it is the case of many a thousand in England: great troubles will come of it.]

Inter. of Engl. p. 29. This numerous party will not vary from it self, &c. ——— The minds of men are fix'd in this Opinion, and are not like to be reduced to the practise of former times.] Well said J. C. yet, Thousands (says another) do sigh for this Discipline; and ten thousands have sought it.] We do protest unto Your Majesty (say the Supplicators) that we will be no longer subject unto the Bishops unlawful, and usurped Authority, &c.] ——— And another. [The truth will prevail (speaking of the Discipline) in spite of your teeth, (meaning the Bishops) and all other Adversaries of it.]

Inter. of Engl. p. 53. In the late King's Declaration concerning the tumults in Scotland: this way of Petitioning is very frequent: and this is that my friend hints, in saying, That the Presbyterians have never ceased to sollicite, and supplicate, &c.] But Words draw no Blood.

'Tis true, but such as these come very near it.

We phancy first, defects in Government; then we discourse them; after that, we propose a Reformation, which, if rejected, we proceed to press it: the next step is a Threat, and then a Blow.

Where there are failings in Authority, 'tis not for private Persons to take Publick notice

of

of them. Who ever does *that*, would *strike*, if he *durst*. This is not meant of every slip, in common discourse, either of *Heat*, or *Inadvertency*; yet *that* is very ill too) but of *deliberate* Affronts; such as proceed from a form'd *Habit* of Irreverence: and in that Case, I think 'twere no hard measure, if he that sets his hand to the King's dishonor, should lose his Head for't.

Take it at worst. Put case a Prince *Mis-govern*s; yet we are sure, that his *Superior* does not; and that respect we cannot pay to his *failings*, we must allow to his *Commission*. From *Words* proceed we now to *Actions*.

Presbyterian Practices toward their

SOVEREIGN.

THE *Presbyterian* is no sooner in the Saddle, but (in the name of *Reformation*) how the man Gallops: *Kings*, *Parliaments*, *Laws* and *Liberties*, *Oathes* and *Covenants*, are but as feathers in his way.

I shall not clog this Section with many Instances. The Traiterous actings of the *Conventicle* at *Glasgow*, in 1638. the horrid outrages that usher'd it, and the most deplorable consequences that ensu'd upon it, contain

contain enough to brand that Faction to eternity.

I shall the rather fix *there*, because it brings the Case home; and first, in regard that the *Schismatics* of both Nations acted by the same tie of Oath and Interest. Next, as it is the Model, they have made the people swear they would be damn'd by. Some of their many Insolencies are these.

Positions
of the
Conven-
ticle at
Glasgow,
An. 1638.

- I. *The Assembly is Independent, either from King or Parliament, in matters Ecclesiastical.*
- II. *It is lawful for Subjects to Covenant and Combine without the King, and to enter into a Bond of mutual defence against him.*
- III. *An Assembly may abrogate Acts of Parliament, and discharge their fellow-Subjects from obedience to them, if they any way reflect upon the business of the Church.*
- IV. *They deny the King's right of Calling or Dissolving Assemblies, and they continue to Sit and Act, notwithstanding his Majesty's express Order for their Dissolution. (See the King's Declaration.)*

These Rebellions proceedings are yet darkened by the transcending Usurpations that followed them. But here I am bounded; This only I may say;

Who ever has a mind to run the extremes

remittes of another War, and to see another King murther'd, let him give his Vote for Presbytery.

And here let every man look behind him, and lay his finger on his mouth.

As the Geneva Discipline is injurious to Kings, and stated Laws, so it is most ridiculously tyrannous to the People. A great uproar arising in Edinburgh, about the making of a Robin-hood, they of the Consistory did ex-communicate the whole Multitude.] 'Tis a strange tenderness possesses these Saints. One of them being to Christen a child, brake off in the middle of the Action, because he would not call it Richard.]

I suppose no man knew this kind of Cattel better than King James. I was persecuted (says that learned Prince) by Puritans, not from my Birth onely, but even since four Months before my Birth.] And to Prince Henry Thus.

Take heed to such Puritans, very Pests in the Church and Common-weal, whom no deserts can oblige, neither Oathes or Promises bind; breathing nothing but Sedition, and Calumnies, aspiring without measure, railing without reason, and making their own imaginations (without any warrant of the word) the square of their conscience. I protest before the great God, and

Presbytery tyrannous to the People. Bancroft p. 20. Ibid. p. 105.

K. James his works: pag. 305. Ibid. p. 160.

The An-
tiquity of
Phana-
sicks.

and since I am here as upon my Testament, it is no place for me to lie in, that ye shall never find with any Highlands or Border-thieves, greater ingratitude, and more lies and vile perjuries, than with these Phana-
natique spirits. And I think every man may say as much that hath but known them.

We are at length by Gods great mercy, delivered from those Evangelical Impostors, and after all our wandrings brought once again, into the Channel. We have our *Prince*, our *Laws*, our *Freedom*s, our Interest lies before us, and certainly we cannot be so mad, as now to dash a second time upon the same Rock: Yet they shall lose nothing for want of offering at it.

The Arguments of 1641. are set on foot again: The very same with Cartwright's, (that *Consistorian Patriarch*, as Bancroft terms him) nay, they are advanc'd already beyond pleading of their Cause, to pressing of it, by sawcy Importunities, and peremptory threatenings.

From what I have deliver'd, it cannot be deny'd, but their Positions are destructive to all *Civil Government*: And for their Practices, the story is written in Blood.

This might suffice to end the Controversie concerning *Reason of State*, for certainly a Faction so Principled, cannot with safety to the Publick be incorporated into any Politick Constitution. But I shall add some further
Reasons,

Reasons, why by no means they are to be admitted.

1. They'r a Party never to be gain'd by Obligations; and this is manifest from their proceedings toward the late King, whose most unhappy Tenderneß of Nature cost him his Life. And at this instant, that irreclaimable ingratitude is yet more clear toward his Majesty in being: whose unexampled Mercy, so much as lies in them, is converted to his Dishonor, and Destruction.

2. They ground their claim upon the Equity of their Cause, which if allow'd, by the same reason they may serve this King as they did his Father.

3. Their Demands are Endless, as well as Groundless, and it is not prudential to grant any thing to a Faction, that will be satisfi'd with nothing. It is but Giving them a power to Take the rest.

4. They Expostulate, and what they get up on those Terms, they look upon rather as a Submission, than a Concession. The very manner of their Address has a spice of Mutiny in it, and they will hardly make an honest use, of what they compass by dishonest means.

5. It is not advisable to encourage Tumultuary combinations, by Rewarding them.

6. The Diffuse is not so much what their Consciences will Bear, as what their Importunities can Obtain: and so feel the Pulse of the Supreme Authority.

In fine, It is a contest betwixt the Law and a Faction,

Faction, and a fair step toward a New Rebellion.

So much for Reason of State.

Now to the Justice of their pretences. The Quere is.

Whether in Justice or Reason of State the Presbyterian Party should be Rejected and Depressed, or Protected and Encouraged.

'Tis one thing what the King may do in point of Justice, and another thing what the Presbyterians may demand upon that score.

There is a Justice of Conscience, Honor, and of Prudence.

Justice of Conscience.

By the First: His Majesty is ty'd up in common with the meanest of his Subjects. That is, if the King find himself in Conscience bound to maintain Episcopacy in the state he found it, (Legally settled) he is not free to alter it.

Justice of Honor.

In point of Honor: There's more Liberty, and whatever the King does in that particular, is well done. But his Majesty not having as yet declar'd himself; what do we know, how far even upon That Point he may concern himself to reject the Presbyterian's Demands? Partly out of Reverence to his Royal Father; In part, out of a Princely Strictness to His own Dignity:

Dignity: and partly out of a Generous tenderness toward his Ruin'd Party.

First, as to what may seem relating to His Majesty's Father.

That which these people urge, is what the late King chose, rather to Die, than Grant: which in His ΕΙΜΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ is intimated in these words.

In these two points, the preservation of establish'd Religion and Laws, I may (without vanity) turn the reproach of my sufferings, as to the worlds censure, into the honor of a kind of Martyrdom, as to the testimony of My own conscience, the troublers of My Kingdoms, having nothing to object against me but this, that I prefer Religion and Laws established, before these alterations they propounded.

ΕΙΜΩΝ
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ.
pag. 239.

Every word hath its weight, which fell from the Pen of that pious and judicious Prince. Nor can I over-pass a Caution of his learned Father's; when I consider the sum of their Proposals, which in effect is but a condemnation of the late King, in the bold, needless justification of Themselves. These are the words.

As for offences against your own Person and Authority, since the fault concerneth your self, I remit to your own choice to punish or pardon therein as your heart serveth you, and according to the circumstances of the turn, and the quality of the Committer.

R. James
his works,
P. 157.

Here

Here would I also cite another Crime to be unpardonable, if I should not be thought partial: But the Fatherly love I bear you, will make me break the bounds of Shame, in opening it unto you. It is then, the false and irreverent writing, or speaking of malicious men against your Parents and Predecessors. And a little further.

It is a thing monstrous to see a Man love the Child, and hate the Parents: as on the other part, the infamous and making adions of the Parents, is the ready way to bring the Son into contempt. And for conclusion of this point, I may also alledge my own experience: for besides the judgments of God, that with mine eyes I have seen fall upon all them that were chief Traitors to my Parents, I may justly affirm, I never found yet a constant bidding by me in all my strains, by any that were of perfect age in my Parents days, but onely by such as constantly bode by them; I mean, specially by them, that served the Queen my Mother; for so that I discharge my Conscience to you, my Son, in revealing to you the truth, I care not what any Traitor, or Treason-allower, think of it.

Thus

Thus far his Majesty may find himself concern'd in Honour to his Fathers Ashes, now to his dying Counsels.

The late
Kings
Counsels.

Take heed of abetting any factions, or applying to any publick Discriminations in matters of Religion, contrary to what is in your judgement, and the Church well settled.

Eliab
Basil.
Page 236.

I cannot yet learn that lesson, nor I hope ever will you, that it is safe for a King to gratifie any Faction with the perturbation of the Laws, in which is wrapt up the publick Interest, and the good of the Community.

Ib. p. 239.

What in effect do these people now desire, but that his Majesty would rather take their Counsel, than his Fathers? In the next Page, the King expresses a more than ordinary earnestness, in these words.

My Counsel and Charge to you is, that you seriously consider, the former real or objected miscarriages, which might occasion my troubles, that you may avoid them.

Ib. p. 240.

Herein, his Majesty is tacitly conjured against them; it being a most notorious Certainty, That The late King lost both his Crown and Life by Over-granting. The now-pretended cause of the quarrel, was not mentioned till after the War was begun. The colour of rais-

K

ing

*Einde

Bucina.

pag. 62.

.d. 169.

Ibid.

pag. 169.

sing an Army, being to fetch in Delinquents. After which (says his Majesty) among other lesser Innovations, this chiefly was urged: the Abolition of Episcopal, and the Establishment of Presbyterian Government.

As to the point of Imperial Honour, where in his Majesty may possibly concern himself more immediately. It is a high excess of goodness to make his Favours Common, where they are look'd upon so cheap, (as here; Witness these daily new Transgressions, since his most Gracious Pardon.) [Some men (says the late King) have that height, as to interpret all fair Condescendings, as Arguments of Feebleness, and glory most in an unflexible stiffness, when they see Others most supple and inclinable to them.]

There remains yet a third Question under this Head of Honour; that is, How far his Majesties Generosity may extend it self, in Favour, and Protection of those persons that have serv'd him, through all extremities till they have nothing left them beyond the hopes of honourable Epitaphs.

These people have Consciences too; a sense of Duty and Religion. They reverence the Episcopal Order, and That, which through the Rites of Bishops, was equally wounded: The Order of Kings. At last, those that subverted the Former, and usurped the Latter, demand (I think in reputation of their hazards)

a *Presbyterian Government*. In which particular, our Duty teaches us not to direct our Master: only we take a sober Freedom to answer our Accusers; and to profess to all the World, that those who fought *For King* and *Bishops*, were in our Opinion as honest men at least as they that fought *against them*.

To his Majesties *honourable* Consideration, I think in this point we may claim a Right. We have suffer'd for, and with his Royal Father, and *Himself*, and the main Justice of the Cause, betwixt the King and those that serv'd him, is the same thing: so that whoever strikes at *Us*, wounds our *Sovereign*.

Lastly, There is a *Justice of Prudence*, wherein a man may frame a thousand reasons against the *Encouraging* of the *Presbyterians*: not speculative, and airy Notions, but close, and pinching *Reasons*, grounded upon weighty *Authority*, and a never-failing course of long experience. (Yet not to dictate to his Majesty, to whose Will we submit our Reasonings)

First, if their *Desires* were Modest, the manner yet of promoting them, is too rude and positive; they *Preach* and *Print* their Grievances, which is the way rather to stir a *Faction*, than allay a *Scruple*. Lord, (says Mr. *Manton*) give us the *Liberty of the Gospel*, before we go hence and be no more seen. As if *Episcopacy* were *Paganisme*. 'Tis dangerous to grant more, to those that take too much. How do I reverence the Divine Spirit of his late Majesty,

ΕΙΜΩΝ

ΒΑΣΙΛ.

Page 182.

The great Miscarriage I think is, that popular Clamours and Fury had been allowed the reputation of zeal, and the publick sence; so that the Study to please some parties, hath indeed injured all.

1b.p.236.

And again; Take such a course as may either with calmness and charity quite remove the seeming differences and offences by impartiality; or so order affairs in point of power, that you shall not need to fear or flatter any Faction; for if ever you stand in need of them, or must stand to their courtesie, you are undone: the Serpent will devour the Dove: you may never expect lesse of Loyalty, Justice, or Humanity, than from those who ingage into religious Rebellion: their Interest is always made Gods, under the colours of Piety, ambitious Policies march, not only with greatest security, but applause, as to the populacy; you may hear from them Jacobs voice, but you shall feel they have Esaus hands.

To what I have said, I shall be bold to add a Justice of Proportion; and thereupon Two Questions.

1. Why should the Presbyterians; a Small, Irregular party, pretend to give the Law to the Supreme Authority, the established Constitution; and incomparably the greater Part of the Nation?

2. Why should those people, that with a more then Barbarous rigour press'd the Covenant: ejecting, sequestering, imprisoning such as refused to take it, and without Mercy or Distinction: ——— Those that in publick barr'd

Non-

Non-Covenanters, the Holy Communion in express Terms with *Adulterers*, *Slanders*, and *Blasphemers*, affirming in the Pulpit, that all the *Non-Subscribers to the Covenant were Atheists*. — Why should (I say) those people that with so unlimited a Tyranny imposed upon the Nation a *Rebellious League*; to the Engagement of their *Souls* in taking it; their *Liberties* and *Fortunes* in refusing: — I say yet once again; why should those People now at last demand an interest in that Government, which Root and Branch they have laboured to extirpate? or with what Face can they pretend a Right to an *Authority*, where but by Mercy they have none to *Life*? (I speak of these late Libellers and their Abettors.)

The late Kings Declaration concerning Scotland. pag. 404.

Let me be understood likewise by *Presbyterians*, to intend those of the *Scottish* race, to whom we are beholden for our discipline. That Faction first advanced it self by Popular Tumult and Rebellion. *Knox* learned the trick on't at *Geneva*, and brought it into *Scotland*; We had our Agents too, that did as much for us, these Fellows conferr'd Notes, set the Wheel going, and we were never perfectly quiet since.

Upon the whole matter foregoing (in the Gentlemans own words) we firmly build this Position,

That the Presbyterian party, ought not, either in Justice or Reason of State, in any wise to be Encouraged, but rather Rejected;

ed; Neither ought they to be protected in any Inconformity to the Law, but rather totally Depressed.

His second Quere is soon dispatch'd, viz.

II. Qu. *Whether the Presbyterian party may be Protected and Incouraged, and the Episcopal not Deserted nor Dis-obliged.*

First, many things are possible, which are neither *Just* nor *Rational*; and therefore it matters not much to allow it the *One*, if I prove it not to be the *Other*. Imagine such a Contemperation of *Episcopal*, and *Presbyterian* pretences, as might atone their present Disagreements, yet where's the *King*? The Interest that's principal in the Concern, is not so much as named in the *Question*. The Quarrel was about the *Militia*, not *Lawn-sleeves*, and the *Royal Party* is to be taken in, as well as the *Episcopal*.

The truth of it is; This Gentleman does not find it convenient at present to move an utter Extirpation of Bishops: but he proposes That, which granted, would most infallibly produce it. A *Consociation* forsooth, that for the better credit of the Project, shall be called a *Regulated Episcopacy*, which in good honest *English* is next Door to a *Tyrannical Presbytery*. In fine,

The Episcopal Authority is Deserted and Disob-

Disobliged by the admittance of a Presbyterian Competition.

Yet pardon me, I have found a way to reconcile them, *Make but these squabbling Presbyterians, Bishops, and the work's done: as Presbyters they are Encouraged; and (I dare say) not disoblighd, as Bishops.* The plague of it is, there's neither *Justice* nor *Reason* of State for't, and so we are where we were again.

We shall make short work too with his Third Question: for in effect it spells just nothing.

III. Qu. *Whether the upholding of both parties by a just and equal accommodation be not in it self more desirable, and more agreeable to the state of England, than the absolute exalting of the one party, and the total subversion of the other.*

I must needs take notice here of two *Mistakes*, the one in propriety of language, viz. the *Upholding of both parties*. One of those Parties is not *up*, and cannot be *upheld*. The other, shifts the *Question*, and states the difference betwixt the *EXALTATION* of the one, and the *SUBVERSION* of the other, when all that we desire is but to keep both where they were, without *advancing* or *depressing* either.

If they have any Title to the Interest they

challenge, the same had *Cromwel* to the *Crown*. This Question must be better stated, before we think it worth an Answer.

One Reflexion now upon the Whole.

Here's *Exaltation*, — and *Subversion*; but not a syllable of *Toleration*: and what's the reason of all this? They are afraid that would be granted; and how should they do then to pick a quarrel? Their way is never to be satisfi'd in *Conscience*, with what the King can give in *Honor*, and *Reason*. (His Sacred Majesty's Observation) *A grand Maxim with them was always to ask something, which in Reason and Honor must be deny'd, that they might have some colour to refuse all that was in other things granted; setting Peace at as high a rate as the worst effects of War.* I have cited this already, but every Line drawn by that Hand deserves to be repeated.

To this, there is another end that's common to the Gang, which is, to draw an *odium* upon one Party, and a *compassion* toward the other. And other end than this do I see none at all, in his *absoute exalting*, — and *total subversion*. We covet no Change, but desire the contrary. How little soever it may appear to our purpose, 'tis very much to theirs, to have the people understand by *Absolute Exalting*, — the dangerous and intolerable *pride* of *Bishops*; and by their *total subversion*, on the other side, how sadly the word goes with *The Professors of the Gospel*.

These

Ἐκὼν
Βασιλική.
pag. 170.

These trivial appearances have more weight, than commonly the world imagines: *Tis not so much* (as Hooker says) *how small the spark is that flyeth up, as how apt things about it are to take fire.* Their business is to stir the affections of the common people, which must be done by means and ways, to wise men, in themselves *ridiculous*, but in their applications of most desperate effect.

ob I speak in earnest, that very Tone they use in Preaching, that *Fellow-feeling-Tone* (as they would have it understood) is I believe of great use to their business. I have observed the *Groans* that follow the *Abi-mee's*, and beyond doubt those snivelling affectations are not without their benefit. That 'tis a forc'd and acted passion, is evident in this; they almost all of them use the same emphasis.

I would not for my Hand let fall a syllable should cast a scandal upon that Holy Ordinance: and with my soul I reverence the grave and pious Clergy. We cannot attribute enough to God; assume too little to our selves. We cannot be too much afflicted for our sins; nor too sensible of our own unworthiness. Yet I suppose a fit Christian sorrow may be contain'd within such terms as to reach *Heaven*, without disturbing the *Congregation*. To come to a Church-dore, and hear an out-cry, as if a man were cutting for the Stone; and what's all this, but an afflicted Pastor, mourning for those heavy judgments, that hang over the Land because of Common-prayer: And then the Sisters groan so ruthfully; you'd swear five hundred

dred women were in Labour. Away with these ostentations of Holiness, — but first away with the *Discourse* of them.

I must confess, the Gentleman hath offered fair, and more I doubt then he can undertake for, were it accepted. What if Six Presbyterians of Seven renounce his *Moderation*, and say he treated without Commission: where's his *Pacifick Coalition* then? 'Tis for a Parity they struggle; which when they have got, they shall as much contest among themselves to crush again, as ever they did to introduce it. Just thus was the King treated; He was to rule in *Consociation* too, by the *advise* of his Presbyters. And what came on't? The Factions interfer'd; the Change went round the Circle; and at long-length; in the place of a most *Gracious Prince*, up starts a most *Tyrannical Protector*.

And yet I verily think, a way might be found out to work upon these people: Let the King settle their strict Form of Discipline; fill the Presbyteries with Episcopal Divines, and Elders of his own Party; I verily believe these very men would be as hot for Bishops. I cannot comprehend the temper of that *Sacrilegious Tenderness*, that makes men *Digest* Bishops *Lands*, and yet forsooth they cannot swallow the *Sleeves*.

Onely this word. Some of the Authors I have quoted for *Episcopacy*, (to deal sincerely) may be as well produc'd against it. For That, let them look to't, I am Innocent: and my Cause Clearer for it. They found it
for

for their Interest to Engage their Disciples in many Opinions, which for their Honor they would not undertake to defend against their Equals.

I Should end here, were I not drawn out beyond my purpose, by a *Second Part* from the same Hand; which should not yet divert me from my first Intention, could I but save my self, in setting it absolutely alone. By the Formalities of *Title* and *Connexion*, it seems related to the Former part, further then by some passages in the Treatise it appears to be; whereof some few I am concern'd to Examine, and I shall shorten even that little I intend, as much as Possible. He calls it——

A Deliberative Discourse,

P R O V I N G,

That it is not agreeable to sound Reason to prefer the Contracted and Dividing Interest of one Party, before the General Interest of Protestantism, and of the whole Kingdom of England, in which the Episcopal and Presbyterian Parties may be happily United.

We are agreed in all but in the *Main*, and as to That, I have already shew'd, that in the *Observation*. Subject of our Difference, the *Presbyterian Party* (that is, the *Kirk-party*) is divided from the

the *Protestant*: So that unless it can be made out, by the Judgment of the *Reformed Churches*, that *Prelacy* is *Antichristian*, and that *Instituted Ceremonies* are *Unlawful*; the Author of this *Deliberation* overthrows himself by his own Argument, of preferring the *General Interest* of Protestantism, before the *Contracted and Dividing Interest* of one Party. We should not take in *Discipline* within the pale of *Religion*, but against That Party, which reckons it an *essential Mark* of the *Church*. And let them take their Choice, whether it shall be accounted among things *Indifferent*, or *Necessary*. If the *Former*, *Obeys the Imposition*; if the *Latter*, let them produce their *Authority*.

The *Foundation* being mis-lai'd, the *Building* will hardly stand: Or, which is worse, it falls upon the *Builder*.

He says, His Aim is *Unity*, and truly so is mine; But *Unity* in such a Composition will never set us right. Two may agree in the same point of *Verity*; but then that *Truth* must for itself be entertain'd, without considering one another. If about any thing *Material* we differ; flie to the *Judge of Truth*: The *Scriptures*, and the *Church*: If about *Less*, and *Common* Matters, go to the *Rule of Duty*, (in such Cases) the settled *Law*. But I forget myself.

It must needs be (says the Deliberator) the Wisdom of this State to smother all dividing Factions, and to abolish all partial Interests, that

that the common Interest of England may be alone exalted.

I hope he does not mean, by *State*, the *Observation* of the *Keepers of the Liberties*; if the *Supreme Authority* of this Nation as it is legally vested in the *King*, the Man has kill'd himself. What are *Dividing Factions*, but such Parties as start from that common Rule the *Law*, which every State is bound upon a Principle of *Policy*, and *Honor*, to preserve Sacred and Inviolable? *The best Rule of Interest is the Law.*

The *Law* is but the *Wisdom* treasur'd up of many Ages; — onely an amass of all thoir lights, which long *Experience*, strict *Search* and *Industry*; and many Consultations of great Statesmen, have given to the Discovery of our true Interest. Great Reason is there to approve so great *Authority*: and as great shame it were not to avow what we our selves have done; (The *Law* being but an Universal Vote) beside the penalty of *Disobedience*. How *Mad* then, how *Ignoble*, and how *Desperate* shall we esteem that Faction, that breaks through all these bonds of *Reverence*, *Honor*, and *Prudential Security*, to force that Sanctuary, wherein, as *Christians*, and as *Men*, we have reposed, First, the Protection of our *Religion*; — and then the Arbitration of our *Lives* and *Fortunes*.

From such Dividers, Heaven deliver us, first, and then preserve us.

Page 36.

All Enterprises (says our Author very rationally) that have their beginning in judgment, and not in passion, are directed to a certain end set up as a mark, and that end is not a business in Rovers; but some particular steady issue of things, certainly or probably apprehended and expected: Wherefore let wise men consider the mark whereat they level, and to what issue and state of things their actions tend.

Observation.

Most certain 'tis; without that mark men go they know not whether. First the End; then, the Way; is (I suppose) the Common Method of all wise men: and his advice to such, to look before them, might have been spared; they would have don't without it. Now to his Business; but first, I'll clear the way to't. The Question is,

Page 33.

Whether the fomenting of these Discords, (viz. in matters of Discipline) do not proceed from a carnal design? And he debates the matter with the Episcopalians.

Page 36.

Here is a numerous Party not of the dregs and refuse of the Nation, but of the judicious and serious part thereof: What will they do with them? and how will they order the matter concerning them? Would they destroy them? I solemnly profess; that I abhor to think so by the generality of the Episcopal persuasion: I would disdain to mention such an unreasonable impiety, were it not to shew the inconsiderate and absurd

absurd proceedings of an unalterable opposition, as that it cannot drive to any formed end and issue. That Protestants should destroy Protestants, for dissenting in the point of Ceremonies, and sole Jurisdiction of Bishops, is so dreadful a violation of Charity and common Honesty, that it is a most uncharitable and dishonest thing to suppose it of them. What then? would they bear them down; or keep them under hard conditions? Shall all persons that cannot yield exact obedience to Ecclesiastical injunctions concerning all the parts of the Liturgy, and Ceremonies, be suspended and deprived as formerly? Shall Ministers of this judgment be cast and kept out of Ecclesiastical Preferment and Employment? Shall all private Conferences of Godly Peaceable Christians, for mutual edification, be held unlawful Conventicles? It hath been thought by wise men to be against the Rules of Government; to hold under a rigid yoke a free people, of such a number and quality, and intermingled in all estates and ranks, and intimately conjoined with all parts of the Body Politick, that it is almost impossible to exclude their Interest from a considerable share in publick actions.

We are so often told of this judicious serious Party, pray let's allow them to be a Company of very fine Gentlemen, and mind our business, I think he says they are numerous too. So were the Frogs that came into the King's Chamber; and what of that?

Observations.

In good truth, altogether, it is a very pretty
Anagram

Anagram of Sedition. If it wants any single Circumstance that's needful to procure a Tumult, I am exceedingly mistaken.

Mark it, here's *Number*; *Conduct*, and *Pre-
tence of Right*, to *Embolden*, and to *Fix the
Multitude*. Then, to *Provoke*, and *Heighten*
them: old Sores are rub'd; they are munded
how they were used so long ago; and hinted
yet of worse behind, if they have not a care be-
times. What is all this to say? but

Gentlemen, you remember how it was
with you formerly; if you have a mind to
any more of That, so. But things are well
enough yet; there are those will stand by
you that know what they have to do, and
enow to make their hearts ake. — Why
it is against all Rule of Government, to
put this yoke upon a Free People. —

If the Author be within hearing; he should
do well to be his own Expofitor. In the mean
while, compare we the Gloss with the Text.

He speaks now in his own words, which
the Reader may find by conferring them
with the entire matter of the last Quota-
tion, to be extracted with the strictest justice to
his meaning.

Here is (says he) a numerous Party, of the
judicious and serious part of the Nation: what
will they (the Episcopalians) do with them?
&c. would they destroy them? &c. I solemnly
profess

profess, that I abhor to think so of the generality of the Episcopal persuasion, &c. shall they be suspended, and deprived as formerly? shall all private conferences of godly, peaceable Christians, for mutual edification, be held unlawful Conventions? Is it hath been thought by wise men to be against the Rules of Government to hold under a rigid yoke a Free People of such a Number, and Quality.

This is cutting of a Man's Throat with a Whetstone. Truly Horace his saying would sound very well from this Gentleman.

— Fungor vice Cotis, acutum
Reddere qua ferrum valet, exors ipsa secunda

My Office is to *Whet*, not *Cut*.

To tie him up now to his own Philosophy, which is, (according to his fore-alledg'd Position) that all Rational Enterprises propose some certain End, unto which end, all wise men conform their mediate Actions. If it be so, (as we are agreed upon it) then by that very reason which directs him to chuse the means, are we enabled likewise to guess the end.

His End, he says, is Peace; and in this Treatise he hath chalk'd his way to't. He's a wise man, and certainly proceeds in order to the Mark he levels at. Let him be judge by his own Rule.

To mind the peevish of old Grievances, and

The Presbyterian Method of making Peace.

in so doing to transport the honest with a just sense of new indignities; Is this the way of Peace?

To break a solemn Law; that Law that saved the Breakers of it; to abuse the Mercy of that Prince that made it; and to traduce the Government of his Father, whom they themselves destroyed; and which is worse, to justify all that is this the way of Peace?

To startle the mad brutish Rabble with dangerous apprehensions; to lay the justice of their Cause before them, and when they are ripe for mischief, to shew them Men and Arms; Is this the way of Peace?

Then let me learn which is the way of Tumult.

Shall Protestants destroy Protestants, (says he) for dissenting in the point of Ceremonies? No, but the Law shall destroy Subjects, for attempting to Rule their Governors.

Touching their Conventicles, since they fall in my way, I think of them, as of the Painter's Bad God that made a Good Devil. I take them to be none of the best Churches, but for ought I know, they may make excellent.

I beg ye onely to observe now, the equity of these good Folks.

Page 38.

Is it for the service of Christ, and the increase of his Kingdom the Church, that so many able Divines should be debarr'd the use of the Word Talents, that so many laborious Ministers should sit still in silence; that when Christ teach-

ask us to pray that the Lord would thrust forth Labourers into his Harvest, those Labourers should be thrust out of his Harvest? Surely this would make a cry in the ears of the Lord of the Harvest.

Do none of the Woes in the Gospel belong to this talker of it? The Service of God went merrily on, in the Thorough Reformation; did it not? When not a Minister kept his Living, but to the hazard of his Soul; and in several places (where the allowance was small) neither Sacrament nor Sermon, for divers years together. But in those days, the Covenant kept all in good order.

With what a monstrous confidence does this man press a Text, which the whole Nation knows is clear against him! And all in Scripture-phrase forsooth: *Ne sine forma tantum sceleris fiat*, for the honour of the exploit. These people use Religion, as your London-Cooks do their pickled Barbaries: they garnish with it. It serves for every thing; I know not how it is, but they do't, because they find the women like it.

When the Episcopal, and loyal Clergy, their Wives, Children, and Families, were swept entirely away by that SCOTCH PLAGUE the COVENANT; That made no cry sure in the ears of the Lord of the Harvest. Let the great Great Judge of all the World determine it.

Page 39.

If the neglect of brotherly Pacification hold on, and the Hierarchy resolve upon their own advancement to the highest pitch, one may well conclude, that they make a full reckoning to wear out the Presbyterians, and to swallow up their Interest, conceiving they are able to effect it by degrees; and that greater changes than these have been wrought without much ado.

Observa-
tion.

Let but the meanest Soul alive now judge of these mens Consciences. (I speak of those that tumult since the *Act of Pardon*) As deep a forfeiture as ever was made by mortals, the King hath remitted to them. They have cost the Nation more then they have left it worth, beside the blood, the Grief, and Desolation they have brought upon it. This notwithstanding, they have at this Instant the self same Interest they ever had, as to *Freedom and Safety*, and otherwise more. They keep what they got; beg, and get more; and are not yet content unless they Govern too. But this is but another Alarm, as who should say; *Look to your selves my Masters; lose not an Inch, for if you do, they'll do your Business by degrees.*

By and by, among other concurring advantages, to the great Changes Queen Elizabeth wrought in Religion; he reckons this for one.

Page 42.

Popery (sayes he) being in substance a Religion contrary to what was publicly professed, had

had no advantage for encrease by publick
Preaching, or Books publickly allowed.

Nothing more certain then that the Free-observati-
dome of the *Press* and *Pulpit*, is sufficient to *on*.
embroyl the best ordered Government in the
World.

All Governments have their *Disorders* and
their *Malecontents*: The *one* makes use of the
Other, and here's the ground of all Rebellions.
Some *Real faults* are first found and laid open
to the People, which, if in matter of popu-
lar Freedom, or Religion; so much the stron-
ger is the Impression; the vulgar being natural-
ly stubborn; and Superstitious. Bring it to
this, a very little Industry carries it on at
pleasure. They shall believe *Impossibilities*.
Act eagerly, they know not what, nor why;
and while they reach at *Liberty*, graip their
own *Fetters*. Their unhappiness is, they can
better *Phansy* a Government without any
faults; then brook one that hath *some*. Add
out to this distemper, Licentious Pamphlets,
and seditious Sermons, the World shall never
keep that people quiet.

Wherefore since on all hands it is agreed, that
Printing, and *Preaching* in opposition to a
publick establishment, are of so dangerous con-
sequence, by the force of the Gentlemans
own Rule we ought to hear no more of their
Discipline from the *Press* or *Pulpit*. *Observe*
the next coherence.

Page 42.

There are now in England thousands of Ministers dissatisfied in the Hierarchy and Ceremonies, who are all competently and many of them eminently learned. They are not generally of light spirits, but steady and well resolved, and tenderly affected touching their spiritual Liberties.

Observation.

1 Chr. 12.

Take notice first, how many, and how resolute they are. That is, take notice again for we have had it exceeding often. His Resolute thousands make me think of the Tribes repairing to David. But they are dissatisfied he sayes: it may be 'tis because they are not Bishops: Yet truly if they be so well resolved methinks they should not be dissatisfied with that they cannot help. I'll ask but two Questions and I have done.

1. Are any of those Tender-conscience thousandsthat are so tenderly affected toward spiritual Liberties, those Presbyterians that deny the King the freedom of his own Chaplains?
2. Had any of these eminently learned thousands a hand in the Assemblies Letter to the Reformed Churches of France, the Low-Countries, &c. — (as great a Schism in Learning as the other was in Religion.) He comes now to the point indeed.

Page 43.

Commonly (sayes he) those people who try all Doctrines by Scripture, and are swayed more by its Authority than by the Ordinances

and Customes of men, do much hesitate and stagger concerning the sole Jurisdiction of Bishops, the pomp of the Hierarchy, and sacred mystical Ceremonies of humane Institution. And therefore let the Episcopal Party never look to be rid of these difficulties, till they remove the matters in Question, whereat a knowing people are always ready to stumble.

Go to then, since the Gentleman will have Observation. so, grant for dispatch the thing he presses, to wit, — that they do *Hesitate*, and *Stagger*. 'Tis hard, that when upon a private search, the Question hangs in Ballance, the casting in the Authority of the Church, and the great weight of Christian Charity, should not be yet enough to turn the Scale. *He that doubts, Sins*, will not excuse that man, who because he thinks he stands, refuses to take heed of falling.

But let him *doubt*, nay more, let him *resolve*; all is but for *himself* still, not for *me*. When he comes once to muster up his Thoughts, and talk of parties, his plea of Conscience is gone: and doublelesse these Violent and publick sticklers for the Scrupulous, (that is in such and such particulars) are the greatest enemies they have. It casts a Scandal upon the very cause of Conscience, when those who evidently want it in themselves, plead for it in others. Upon this Subject, exceedingly well says Mr. Lloyd in a late Treatise of *Primitive Episcopacy*, Pag. 80. *It becomes not good men*

men to censure us for using those Rights and Ceremonies, which we are perswaded not to be prohibited by Gods Law, and both they and we do surely know to be commanded to be used by mans Law duly made, which is Gods Ordinance, to which we must be subject for Conscience sake. And a little after— If any will attempt to be Authors of Combinations, to extort by shew of multitudes and by tumults, the alteration or abrogation of any part of the established Laws, Civil or Ecclesiastical, they will thereby evidently manifest themselves to be but meer pretenders to a tender Conscience, and power of Godliness; for they that labour to extort a part, if they prevail, must have the whole in their power. And can they that attempt so great Robbery, love God, and the Power of Godliness? By this cursed fruit, we know these to be most vile Hypocrites. Now to our Adversary.

The Gentleman desires to clear the Presbyterians of being no Phanaticks: and we'll give him the hearing.

page 54.

It is said that the Presbyterians promoted the Kings Return, not out of good will to His Majesty, or a love of Order, and Unity, but out of fear of being destroy'd by the Phanaticks. To this I shall say little but that I believe there was more in't than so. Let him argue upon it.

ibid.

The pretended reason of their insincerity seems to me to add much to their reputation in that behalf. For if the Phanaticks would destroy them

them, it is manifest that they are none of them. Phanaticks would not destroy themselves willingly. The several various Sects will wrangle with each other in verbal contests; but they never knowingly plotted or banded against each other upon the account of their different Opinions, but did all unite in one common Principle of pretended Liberty of Conscience, and in one common cause of Universal Toleration.

A pleasant Reasoning. A man would think *Observation*, Christianity as strong a yoke as *Phanaticisme*, and yet we see Christians destroy one another. But come to the point. What's more familiar then for a couple of Curs to hunt the same Hare, and when they have catch'd her, worry one another for the Quarry? I'll tell this Gentleman a thing now, shall make him take me for a Conjuror. I'll tell him the true reason why those *Presbyterians* help'd His Majesty in, that are not quiet now they have him. Not for feare of the *Phanatiques*: he made that Objection himself for ought I know; but Here 'tis. (Still saving to my self the freedom of Interpreting my own words.)

I speak only of those Presbyterians that since His Majesties happy Return, are yet fomenting of new Troubles.

The Presbyterian Faction have been ever constant to the rule and method of doing their

The Presbyterians do their own business in the Kings name; *own* Businesse in the Kings name; and this went far with the simple, and well meaning people; but let not any man believe this Interest did their work. The ruin of His blessed Majesty, was that unhappy Agreement with the Covenanters in 1639. after so horrid an expence of *Time and Money*, as gave the greatest benefit imaginable to their Interest, and an equal disadvantage to his own. The King by his expence being grown poor and they strong by the Delay, was more and more oppressed, till at the last the Field was clear'd: He and His Party in appearance lost.

What did these great Pretenders then for the good of *King and Church*, but share the booty, and exercise a Power themselves ten thousand times more Turkish than ever they called that they had abolished? what hindered then the Settlement of this Nation upon its *legal Basis*, (as they phrase it) if the good people had but had a mind to it? Who kept the King from his Parliament? — or was he ever nam'd but with relation to the Losse of *Right* as well of *Power*.

Well, but at last, these people take their turns too, and then the King's a Gracious Prince again. These Factions are of Kin to *Mamaignes* Family, where the Son beats the Father from generation to generation. Now we come near our purpose.

Look back into the *Scotch* defeat in 1648. Not any thing more clear sure, then that the Presbyterian party, would they but frankly have

have closed with the Kings Tryed Friends in that Engagement; without a Miracle, they must have carried it. Those Few they had, did well nigh all that was considerable in the Action.

See afterward, in 50, and 51. how dirtily upon this very accompt, the Presbyterian crew treated his Majesty: and look quite through their *Interregnum*; they have observ'd the same indisposition of uniting with the Kings Party, but still shaking the Head, with an *Alas* poor Gentleman, at the mention of our persecuted Sovereign. Not to insitt upon English Particulars; They never would joyn with Us to help his Majesty, we never refused with them. Now comes the Myserie of the Reserve. Say they,

If we can order Matters so as to get the King's Person in the head of us, and keep out his Party, Their hands are ty'd by a Principle of Duty; Our Power is enlarged upon an Interest of favour, and we can play our Game at pleasure. That is; Wee'l not forget to mind him of his RESTORERS, and now and then a Whisper, how DEBAUCH'D the Gentry's grown; how unfit this man is for Trust, that for Temper, and a Third for Conduct.

We may then propose the naming of Officers, and wee'r to blame if we forget our selves. By these Degrees, and wayes, Time, and a little Patience will wear them out; or if it were nothing else, the very Poverty we have reduced them to, would make them soon Con-temptible.

Whereas

Whereas should we but offer once a General agreement with that Party, our Design's spoyl'd, for they'll be more than we shall well know how to master. That must not be. Our Interest lyes to take in just so many, as when they have done our Work, we may be able to turn out again. So much for That.

Page 60. This is the very Soul of the rigid Presbyterians. Poor Worms, *Where is our Charity and Regard (they crye) to publick tranquillitie, if we reject the sure and only means of Concord ?*

Observation. He should have rather said, where is our Providence, if we admit so sure an Introduction to Confusion? To comply with one Impor-tunity of this nature, is to Authorize, and encourage more; and to please all, is totally Impossible.

Page 61. The Canons Rick in his Stomach notably, they force too much, and bring in Poperie. *[Shall not the Laity be allow'd to search the Scriptures, nor try the Doctrines delivered, but acquiesce in what their Teachers say without the Exercise of their own reasoning, or judgment of Discretion ?]*

Observation. Yes, let them search the Scriptures, as their Teachers may the Lawes, yet by their Leave, the Church and Bench must interpret them. What difference is there between King
James

James his *Phanatiques*, and King Charles his; have that they ascribe one and the same Effect to several Causes. Both claiming equal Certainty, the One, from his Judgement of Discretion: the Other, from Divine Impulse? What work shall we have when every Taylour shall with his Judgement of Discretion cut out his own Discipline, and set it up for a Fashion? When these men and their Bibles are alone together (as Hooker sayes) what Phrensies do they not call directions of the Spirit?

He comes now to the Politicks.

It is a chief point of knowledge in those whose Page 63.
work it is to mould and manage a Nation according to any order of things, to understand what is the temper of the people, what Principles possess and govern them, or considerable Parties of them, and to what passe things are already brought among them.

The more a Prince considers this, the lesse observati-
will he afford a *Scotized English Presbyterian*, on.
By Temper he's *Ambitious*; and *Unthankful*;
ever *Crawling*; and never *Full*: Govern'd by
Principles *Insociable*, and *Cruel*. He rates his
Party, his Piety, and his Kindnesse, twenty
times greater then they are, and rather than
confesse that he is out in his Reckoning, he
shall face any other man down that one on the
wrong side of a Ciphers is 1000

Lastly, in Considering to what passe things
are brought among them, he will bethink him-
self

self likewise how they came to be so.

Page 63.

A State may probably root out such Opinions as it conceives to be heterodox and inconvenient, by using great severity in the beginning, when the Opinions are but newly sowed in mens minds; and the People are of such a nature, as to abhor dangers, and aim to live securely, and when the Nation in generall is devoted to the antient customs of their Fore-fathers. But the same course may not be taken when the Opinions have been deep'y rooted and far spread by long continuance, in a Nation of a free spirit, and zealous, and the generality of those, that in a Law-sense are called Cives, do not desert them.

Observ.

Truly in this Case, if Heterodox Opinions cannot be rooted out, the Men that publiquely maintain them, must: and the rather, if they be free, and zealous: for there's the more danger in their further Progress. Especially if such Opinions prescribe from the Success of Treason. For There, even in matters of themselves very Allowable, I would not leave the least marke of an approbation. It gives too great an honour to Rebellion. Provided alwayes that I act at Liberty, and free from Pre-engage-ments.

Where there is such a Real Cause of Fear, as is here shadow'd to us; That Prince that loves his Empire, or his Honour, must struggle with it becomes: Safety, or Pleasure, such a people perhaps will be content to allow in exchange

exchange for Sovereignty : But for the rest, that Prince is lost that puts himself on the Asking side.

It never fayles, this Rule : *when Subjects earnestly presse for more than they ought, they aske at more yet than they aske.* They are already past their Duty, and short of their Ambition.

In such a Case as This, Rigour is the onely Remedy : great Aptnesse to forgive is entertain'd with greater Pronesse to offend.

Let it be thought upon ; if any Danger, where it lyes : Not in the bare Conceit of Phancy, or Dislike, for, or against the Matter in Dispute, but in the means that give Form, growth, and strength to those unquiet Motions ; and that assemble those Loose scatter'd Sparkes into one Flame.

These Instruments are mercenary *Pulpit-men*, and *Scriblers* ; 'tis but removing them, and the Danger's over.

Least he should seem to want a Colour for these Freedomes, he tells us, that *[the present Age being more discerning, all sorts affect a greater Liberty of Judgement and Discourse, than hath been used in Former times.]*

Page 65

This we observ'd, but did not till now impute it to *Discretion*. Suppose they should grow more and more *Discerning*, and their Desires of Liberty grow too ; would not these People soon grow Wise enough to Govern, that are

Observation.

are already grown too good to Obeý? 'Tis dangerous trusting of them; yet he assures us otherwise.

Page 66.

This Kingdom, after the removing of foundations, is by a marvellous turn re-establish'd upon its ancient basis. And verily that which hath wrought the change will settle it; that which hath brought such things to pass, will keep them where they are, if we do not overlook and sleight it. And what was it, but the consent of the universality, the Vote of all England?

Observation.

If all that acted toward this late and blessed Change meant to Fix here: this needless, ill-timed, and dividing Controversie, concerning Ceremonies, would have been spared: and those which move the Question with such earnestness; at their *Prayers*, rather than these *Expostulations*. 'Tis an ill Age when Theeves arraign the Law. That sort of men which ruin'd us, proposes now that very Method, by which we were destroyed, to settle us, inviting the distemper'd people by this Overture, to take their *Poyseners* for their *Physicians*.

'Tis very true, that (under Providence) It was the Common *Vote*, and stirring of the *Nation*, restored the *King*, and the *Law*: and shall we now restrain that Universal Comfort to the particular Advantage of that single Party, that first invaded them? How great a blemish were it to the Honor, and wisdom of the

the Nation, after so long, and hard a Tugg, to throw away the sum of the Contest: as if we had wrangled all this while for Shadows! But to explain my self.

They that think matter of Ceremony to be the True reason of the Difference on either side, mistake themselves. It is the Law it self, which is assaulted by the One Party, and defended by the Other, in the Particular of Ceremony: and it is the King himself that is affronted in the Indignities they cast upon Bishops. To leave the matter clear: There is a Faction which would over-throw the Law, and set up themselves above it; and These Contrivers put the People upon Cavilling for Ceremonies. They innocently, under a mistake of Conscience, advance an Interest of Usurpation, taking that to be onely a Dispute about the Lawfulness of the Practice, which rationally pinches upon the validity of the Power. It ends in this.

Grant once, that a Popular Vote may overrule a Stated Law, (though but to the value of a Hair) the verue of that reason extends to our Freedoms, Lives, and Fortunes, which by the same Rule they may take away as well as Ceremonies.

And (as the case stands) Kings as well as Bishops.

But [seeing this great Revolution hath not Page 67.
happened by the prevailing force of one Party,
but by the unstrained motion of all England]

what reason is there, that one Party should thrust the other out of its due place of rest; upon the common Foundation?

Observation.

No reason in the world. *The Law is our common resting place: the main Foundation upon which we are all to Bottom. The Law is an impartial Judge, let That determine which place belongs to Bishops, which to Presbyters; what Ceremonies are Lawful, and which not.*

This is a short and a sure way, worth forty of his Coalition.

Page 73.

Having pressed union hitherto, he proceeds now to remove certain impediments; One whereof is an erroneous judgment touching the times foregoing the late Wars.

Observation.

In truth 'tis pity the people are no better Instructed. Then let them know from me, those very principles these folks contend for, were brought by Knox about 1558. from Geneva into Scotland, from thence they were transmitted into England, since which time, the Abettors of them in both Nations, have never ceased by Leagues, Tumults, Rebellions, and Usurpations, to embroile the publick Peace, and affront the Supreme Authority.

They have formally proceeded to the Deposing of Princes, the exercise of an absolute Authority over the Subject: the abrogation of Laws, the Imposition of Taxes; and, in fine,

fine, to all extremities of Rigour, as well in matters of *Civil Liberty*, as of *Conscience*. He that desires a *Presbytery*, let him but read *Presbyter*, for *King*, in the first Book of *Samuel*, and the eighth Chapter, and he shall there find what he is reasonably to expect. These were the pranks foregoing the late Wars: and such as these will be again, if people be not the wiser.

But our Camerade will be none of the Party sure: For, *I abhor (says he) to take Page 74.] upon me the defence of our late distracted times: the distempers thereof I would not in any wise palliate.]*

Is the wind in that dore? Now do I feel by his Pulse, that *Groston's* laid by the heels. He hath forgot, that the *War was between the England-King, and both Houses of Parliament.] Part 1. And that the Presbyterian Party in England never engaged under a less Authority than that of both Houses of Parliament.] And that Part 1. Presbyterians have never disclaimed, or abandoned their lawful Prince.] Page 49. Ibid. 53. It may be he means, that he will not justify the Distempers of the other side. But why do we contest? since he tells us, that ———*

It is the part of weak and selfish minds to contract Religion to certain modes and forms which stand not by divine Right, but by the wills of men, and which are of little efficacy, and very disputable, and if supposed page 75.

lawful, ought to be governed by the Rule of Charity.

Observation.

I would fain know which is more tolerable; for the Church to impose upon the People, or the People upon the Church? For the People on the one side to exempt all, or for the Church on the other side to bind all.

pag. 78.

Order it self is of Divine appointment; but the manner of Ordering (save where God himself hath preimposed) is left to Humane liking and Discretion. To think (says he) that none is a good Christian, a sound Protestant, a fit Minister, that cannot subscribe to such Modes, and Forms, proceeds from a narrow, and ignoble judgment.

Observation.

He may be a fit Teacher for Geneva, that cannot subscribe to the Form of England, and a fit Minister for England, that cannot conform to the practise of Geneva; they may be both good Christians too, and sound Protestants; yet neither of them fit in transposition. 'Tis one thing to be qualify'd for the Ministerial Function, and another thing to be fit for such or such a Constitution. 'Tis true, he Officiates as a Minister: but then, — or so — as a Subject, and that's the real ground of their exception. They do not willingly admit the King's Authority in matters of the Church: and that, which effectually is but their own Ambition, they obtrude upon the world, as a high point of Tenderness to the people. There are beyond all doubt, weak Consciences, fit ob-

jects for indulgence, but the less pardonable are their Mis-leaders, whose business 'tis for their own ends to engage the simple multitude in painful, and inextricable scruples.

Let them Preach down-right Treason, stir up the Rabble to Tumult, and Seditions: if they chance to be caught and question'd for it: see with what softness they treat their Fellows, and with what supercilious gravity their Superiors.

When some degree of forwardness break forth, it is censured with that severity which hazards the undoing of the weak part, that should and might be healed.] And again, to the same effect, (concerning Crofton's Commitment, I imagine) [But suppose that some of this way were guilty of some provoking forwardness, should grave Patriots and wise Counsellors there-upon destroy the weak part, or rather heal it? A prudent Father is not so provoked by the stubbornness of a Child, as to cast him out, and make him desperate while there is yet hope concerning him. It is meet indeed for Princes to express their just indignation, when Subjects presuming on their Clemency do not contain themselves within their duty; and the seasonable expression of such disdain, wisely managed, is of great force in Government: nevertheless if it get the mastery, it is exceeding perilous. It was the Counsel of Indignation that proceeded from Rehoboam's young Counsellors.] What this Language deserves both from the King and his Counsel, let those

that have authority to punish, Judge.

Page 83.

When Governors resent the non-compliances of a Party, their best remedy is to remove the occasions, when it may be done without crossing the Interests of State, or Maxims of Government.

Observation.

That is, if the People will not yield to the Prince, the Prince should do well to yield to the People. A most excellent way for a King that hath to do with Presbyterians: where he shall be sure never to want subject for his Humility, nor ever to get thanks for his Labour.

Page 84.

Where there are many sufferers upon a Religious account, whether in truth or pretence, there will be a kind of glory in suffering, and sooner or later it may turn to the Rulers detriment.

Observation.

There will not be many Sufferers, where there are not many Offenders; and there will not be many Offenders, where an early severity is used. But however, if any hazard be, he that prints it, dictates, encourages, and promotes it, and deserves to suffer with the foremost. But the Gentleman begins now to talk like a Christian. *I detest (says he) and abhor the Tumults, and Insurrections of the People, and the resisting of the Sovereign Power.*

page 98.

Thus

This is honestly said yet: But hold a little. *Observati-*
 What is that *Sovereign Power*, which he ab- *on.*
 horrs should be resisted by the *Tumults of the* *Interest of*
People? Even the *Two Houses in co-ordina-* *England.*
tion with the King. A little further, [*I am* *Page 49.*
persuaded (says he) *that the Generality of the* *ibid. 98.*
Presbyterian denomination would endure extre-
mities, before they would revenge or defend
themselves by unlawful means, as rebelling
against their Lawful Sovereign.

This we shall understand too by confronting *Observati-*
 it, and find it onely the old Fallacy, a little *on.*
 better colour'd.

This part (says he) *of the Supreme Power* *Page 49.*
(meaning the two Houses) *is indeed capable of* *Interest of*
doing wrong, yet how it might be guilty of Re- *England.*
bellion, is more difficult to conceive.

Now if the Two Houses cannot Rebel, as
 being part of the Supreme Power; (by his Ar-
 gument) neither can the Presbyterians, in
 compliance with that Party: So that by this
 mis-placing of the Supreme Authority, what-
 ever hath been acted by virtue of any Com-
 mission from the Two Houses, may be done
 over again, and no Rebellion.

By this device, he onely disavows Rebellion
 so far as This, or That, is not Rebellion ac-
 cording to his Proposition, although the Law
 determine otherwise. This is no more than

Page 101.

what was ever maintained, even by those that stood themselves upon the highest terms of Disobedience. Did ever any man say, *This is Rebellion, and I'll justify it?* Nay, I should be glad to hear any of them say, *This was Rebellion, and I'm sorry for it.* [But it is evident, that the Presbyterians love the King, and Kingly Government, and account themselves happy in his Majesty's Clemency, allowing them a just and inoffensive Liberty in certain matters of Conscience.]

Observation.

The Presbyterians may find many things to thank his Majesty for: but I would they could hit upon a handsomer manner of doing it; and not perpetually to be craving more, when they should be doing him service for what they have receiv'd already. They love the King, they say, but then their Love is Conditional, they must have something for it.

Would they expose themselves for twenty years together, to Gaols and Gibbets, all sorts of Hazards and Misfortunes for their Prince, and at the last sit down and sterve contentedly, out of a sense of honorable Loyalty?

That Subject is not right, who hath not brought his mind up to this Frame; however unhappy he may think himself in such encounters as put him to the Trial of his utmost Virtue.

Page 104.

Wise men inform us, that a Prince by adhering to one Faction, may in time lift it up above

above his own Imperial Interest, which will be forced to give way to it as the lesser to the greater. And the prime Leaders of the potent Faction will sway more than the Prince himself. They will become arrogant, unthankful, and boundless in their ambitious designs.

This is a good Rule, but ill apply'd; unless Observa-
return'd upon himself. I hope he will not call tion.
That Party a Faction, which submits all his Actions to the clear Letter of the Law; and he will hardly prove That to be none, which crosses This. If so, let Common Reason judge betwixt us.

There is a saying, which by many hath been pag. 106.
taken up for a Proverb, No Bishop, no King. I do not well understand the rise of this saying, and therefore dare not speak in derogation of their Judgments who were the Authors of it. But upon the matter it self, I crave to make this modest Animadversion. And first it is some degrading to the transcendent Interest of Sovereignty, to affix unto it a necessity of any one partial interest for its support: For Independency and Self-subsistence, without leaning upon any Party, is a Prince his strength and glory. Also it makes that Party over-confident, and its opposite too despondent. Such sayings as import a Princes necessary dependence on any particular Party, may in the mouths of Subjects be too presumptuous, and in the mouth of a Prince too unmanly.

Observation.

If we are not yet instructed in the Weight and Reason of that saying, — *NO BISHOP, NO KING*; sure we are past Learning any thing. We found the sad truth of this Judgment, in the event of the late War; but that's no Rule. By *No Bishop no King*, is not intended that Bishops are the props of Royalty, nor do the Episcopalians understand it so: but that both one and the other are Objects of the same Fury, only the Church goes First: so that without *presumption*, a *Subject* may *affirm* it; and without loss of *Honor*, a *Prince* may *grant* it.

I might draw Arguments from the Agreement of their *Original*, the likeness of their *Constitution*, the Principles by which they are *supported*, and that they lye exposed to the same Enemies, and the same method of Destruction. But this would seem to imply a more Inseverable Interest then I aim at; and raise the Clergy above the proper State and Orb of Subjects. My meaning is more clear and open.

All Popular Factions take the Church in their way to the State; and I am to seek where ever any Prince quitted *Episcopacy*, and saved *Himself*. That is, his *Royal Dignity*; for the empty name of *King*, is but the *Carkass* of Majesty. It is with the unwholy Populacy, as it is with raging Tides; they prois where the Bank is weakest, and in an instant over-run all. If they had either Modesty, or Conscience, they would

would not force so far: if they have neither, will they stop There? what did the late King Grant; or rather, what Deny? till by their mean Abuse of his unlimited Concessions, he lost his Crown, and Life? Yet what assurance Words could give him, he wanted not: Words wrapt up in the most tender and Religious Forms imaginable. But what are Words where a Crown lyes at stake?

In fine, Treason's a Canker; and where it seizes, that Prince must early cut off the Infected part, if he would save the Sound.

The true Church lies in the middle between Page 116.
two extremes, Formalists, and Fanatics. They are of circumspect and regular walking; no way forward in attempting or desiring alterations in a Civil State. A Prince doth hold them in obedience under a double bond. For they know they must needs be subject not only for wrath, but for Conscience sake. Indeed we will not conceal, that in lawfull wayes they assert that Liberty which is settled by the known Laws and Fundamental Constitutions, the maintaining whereof is the Prince's as much as the Peoples safety.

If to be no way Forward in promoting Changes in the Civil State, be a marque of the Church: The Presbyterians are out of the Pale. It's truth, they are, it seems, Assertors of
Lawfull
Observation.

Lawfull Liberty, in *Lawfull waies*; but how is that to praye? Did they not tell us this when their Swords were at our Throats, when it was Death to assaile the King, when they were forc'd to flye to the *Equitable* sense of the Law, and quit the *Literal*, and fetch their Arguments, from Inspiration, because they had none in Reason.

I shall here put an End to this Discourse, which is become much longer already than I meant it, by reason of his Addition. Crofton's ill-Fortune I find hath made him *wary*, but not *humble*; for he professes the same Things in substance still, though in somewhat a differing manner of Respect, and seeming Candour. The good Words he gives, belong to those Persons which he shall vouchsafe to Call *serious*, and to think worthy of them; and the Government is to be moulded, and disposed of as he pleases.

Finally, he pretends to ayme at a Fair, and Christian Accord, and yet proceeds in a direct method of Dividing: by sharp, and scandalous Reflections upon the Kings Party.

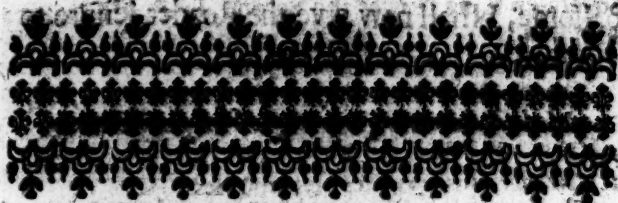
To say no more, his Reasonings are *Dishonourable* to the memory of the *Late King*; *Seditious*, and *Provoking* to the People; *Bold*, and *Imposing* in themselves; *Repugnant* to the established *Law*, and to the main scope of the *General Pardon*.

How out of all these ill Ingredients should be compos'd a National, and healing balsome,

balſome, I ſhall now give the Reader leiſure to conſider.

Male imperatur, ubi regis Vulgus Ducit.

FINIS.



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